PEACE, IT'S WONDERFUL! — AND YOU CAN HAVE IT IF YOU TRY

SEE PAGES 3-5

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newspaper
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NEW YORK, N. Y., APRIL 5, 1950

A plea for sanity

End the nightmare!

THE opening of the Ringling Brothers Barnum & Bailey Circus in New York (April 5 this year) is generally regarded as the signal that spring has come to America.

But this year a rival show—in Washington—broke the tradition: McCarthy's Monstrous Red Revels. Aside from the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press, it got mostly bad notices. In Moscow, **Pravda's** amusements critic likened it to an "amateur night in an insane asylum."

Maybe. But, like some forms of insanity, it has its dangerously sinister side. We think that, allowed to go unchecked, McCarthy's madness can be the harbinger not of spring—but of death (see Matthiessen obit, page 16) and fascism.

BUT it need not be; and it certainly won't be if Americans realize that McCarthy's antics have their origin in the panic arising from the colossal failure of our government's foreign policy—a policy whose cost places out of reach the desperately-needed social improvements at home.

Let's take a look at the score:

THE MARSHALL PLAN: It's a bust. Having caught western Europe in a dollar vise, the government is pouring new billions down the Marshall Plan rathole, rather than loosen the vise and permit free trade and real stability.

THE ATLANTIC PACT: It's a fraud. The U. S. has no allies. It has a collection of liabilities whose defense (against whom?) would mean millions of dead Americans.

CHINA: Our attempts to prop up the Chiang regime, the most corrupt in China's history, have ended in fiasco. America is the most hated country on the Chinese mainland. We are not winning friends by permitting Chiang to use Japanese pilots in U. S. bombers to kill more Chinese.

SOUTHEAST ASIA: Having failed in China, our State Dept. is being forced in panic by the McCarthy mobsters to make the same mistake in Viet-Nam and other places. It cannot work. The lilywhite "communist-containers" cannot contain the masses of colored peoples bent on freedom.

AND ALL OVER: In Greece the people broke through in the recent elections to express their distaste for the despicable politicians grown fat on the Truman Doctrine. In Italy, Holy Year pilgrims are praying in the midst of a people who are forced to seize the land to grow food for their starving children. In many cases they are being led by priests who are doing as the Nazarene Carpenter would have them do—who have no time for pilgrimages to St. Peter's. In France we are confronted by a people revolted by the symbol of the new American culture: Coca-Cola.

THIS is how the successors of Franklin D. Roosevelt have distorted his vision of an America helping to mend a broken and bleeding world. And now comes the breathtaking climax of the circus on the high trapezes—the spectacle of striped-pants artists of the cold-war "policy" themselves chanting the litany: "I am not now, I have never been, I could not be . . . a Communist."

Indeed they could not. In the United States, A. D. 1950, it takes courage even to admit that Communists can ever be right—let alone be a Communist.

It is not a good show. The world will not long pay the price asked for admission, but will go about its own serious business, passing the gaudy posters by with scorn.

IN the muck of the Washington arena there is danger—terrible danger. But there is also hope.

Does that sound strange? It is not. We are in a crisis of American policy. As the forces of peace and freedom all over the world drive Washington's cold warriors back into their own country; as Americans watch with growing horror and indignation the diseased workings of an H-Bomb mentality, the turning point approaches.

If Americans of good will—how many thousands have been silent too long!—rise up together now and say: "Enough!", the whole rotten cold-war structure will come tumbling down. The fascist pattern will be dispersed. The witch-hunters will retreat to the sewers that spawned them.

Then the real America can look again to its own people and to the people of the world and say: "O.K. The nightmare is over. Let's go on with the work."

THE EDITORS

YOU got a headache!

Secretary Acheson's dilemma: See page 1 and the Peace Roundup

Also in this issue

Page
Books: The Diplomat 13
Calendar 14
Chicago page 16
Detroit: new riots? 7
Dollar stretcher 15
Easter story 14
Fascism: legal style 5
Films: Jean Lenauer 13
Florida: bad season 8

Page
Letters to Editor 2
Living & Leisure 13-15
F. O. Matthiessen (obit.)..16
Jennings Perry 6
Report to Readers 2
Roundup of the news ..3-12
Max Werner 10
UN: China's place 12
Konni Zilliacus 11

MAX WERNER

Billions down the bomb hole

PAGE 10

•

TABITHA PETRAN

Business sours on U.S. policy

PAGE 4

Your paper needs your help!

SEE PAGES 2 AND 3

NATIONAL
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the progressive newspaper

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Cedric Belfrage *Editor* — **John T. McManus** *General Manager* — **James Aronson** *Executive Editor*

STAFF: Elmer Bendiner, Fritz Silber, Barney Conal (Associate Editors), Robert Joyce (Art Editor), Robert E. Light, Regina Oshlag (advertising), Leon Summit (business and promotion), George Evans (subscription and circulation), Tabitha Petran, Lawrence Emery, Egon Pohoryles, Dorothy R. Mishkind.

CORRESPONDENTS: John B. Stone (Washington), Rod Holmgren (Chicago), Gene Richards (Los Angeles), Gordon Schaffer, Konni Zilliacus (London), Stanley Karnow (Paris), Emil Carlebach (Frankfurt), George Wheeler (Prague), Ralph Parker (Moscow), Peter Townsend (Shanghai), Max Werner, Ella Winter.

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Report to Readers

Grab hold of your bootstraps and LIFT!

TEN weeks ago we of the GUARDIAN—readers and staff together—undertook the prodigious job of lifting ourselves up from disaster by our own bootstraps.

The serious trouble with the operation thus far has been that only ten percent of the readership has been lifting—the remaining 90% have not yet given a hand.

It can't work that way, of course, especially when there are no angels or big-money backers helping with the lifting.

Everybody has to give a lift, or else we will never get this enterprise off the ground again.

SO we at the GUARDIAN set in motion a machinery which will enable every last GUARDIAN reader to give a lift right in your own front-yard.

We have launched what we here at the office are calling (with no great burst of originality, we admit) "Operation Bootstrap".

In each of more than 1,500 cities, towns, villages and neighborhoods throughout all 48 states where there are groups of GUARDIAN readers, we are setting out to organize Guardian Readers' Clubs.

First, we are undertaking to bring communities of readers together for a meeting on their own neighborhood level.

At the meeting, one or more people who have already given a hand in boosting the GUARDIAN are prepared to present the paper's problems, and tell how everybody can get into action to help solve them.

EACH Club is asked to pledge $100 for the rest of 1950 as a primary step toward assuring continuance of the paper. Goals for increasing circulation are proposed as a year-round project. Each Club will have a chairman and a corresponding secretary to keep in touch with the members and with the GUARDIAN editors on all matters of interest, especially community news of general interest and importance.

We recognize that the job of setting up such Clubs in 1,000 or more communities is a long, tough task. We want you to know that the task is underway, that you will be hearing from us soon on this if you haven't already, and that we sincerely hope you will chip in, with the rest of the GUARDIAN readers in your community, in making "Operation Bootstrap" a rip-roaring success.

Let's work things together, starting right now, so that not merely ten percent of the readership plugs for a bigger, better and guaranteed GUARDIAN, but the whole blessed family—and may our tribe increase (see Page 3.).

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers in 1950.

John T. McManus

THE MAILBAG

Rural America

HONOR, MICH.

In a recent issue of the GUARDIAN was a fine article on the Appeal to Reason. J. A. Wayland was the one who provided the material that started me on the progressive road. Along with many thousands of others I have followed that road since, first with the Appeal, then with American Guardian and now with the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. One of the important facts to remember is that when Debs polled nearly a million votes a large part of them came from rural America.

I am convinced that rural America—the America of the farmers and the small towns—can be rallied behind the NATIONAL GUARDIAN and if so, a million subs is only a whistle stop.

During the last depression I was active in carrying out protest demonstrations against mortgage foreclosures on farms. Farmers who were being dispossessed of everything they had, facing starvation for themselves and families, the loss of their whole life's work, loss of the only environment they knew, would not raise a hand to save themselves — and even defended their dispossessors—until they found they had a moral right to fight back. Once shown that they had a moral right to defend their homes they became tigers and the history of that period—the Sears Roebuck auctions, protest demonstrations, dumping milk, etc. — proves their stamina.

What to the blase city dweller is just corny, is the only thing that will reach rural America. People in the country still have faith.

Let us hear more about Claude Williams and others who are pioneering in rural America. Let the grass roots speak. **Clyde Smith**

•

On Sen. McCarthy

PORTLAND, ORE.

I have just written as follows to Sen. McCarthy:

Dear Senator:

Had you deliberately planned to tear the Catholic Church apart and drive U.S. citizens into the arms of Russia, you couldn't have done a better job. There has never been enacted any law prohibiting one from becoming a Republican, a Democrat, a Socialist or a Communist. You would have Us, the People, believe that the Republican Party—especially the members who are affiliated with the Jesuit element of the Catholic Church—are the only real patriots in our great country.

The hungry millions throughout the world—many of said millions are European Catholics—appear sick and tired of being promised eternal joy in heaven while living a veritable hell on earth, with ever bigger and more destructive wars. If we may believe our Bible,, Jesus was a "rabble-rousing Socialist." No nation on earth is better prepared to drive poverty from its shores than our U. S. A. What is holding us?

Our mounting crime record has filled jails and prisons to the point of suffocation; our asylums are likewise crowded; our homes are falling apart as never before; last year we used more than 11,000,000 pounds of aspirin; our headaches numbered 50 per person per annum —7,500,000,000 for the nation as a whole. We are consuming more liquor than any nation on earth, plus more dangerous narcotics than any other nation. Are you proud of this record?

If you really want to dislodge Truman, why not introduce a bill designed to pay Federal old age pensions—not doles—to our unemployable senior citizens? It would be so much better than spreading the poison as we are now doing. It would prove to the world that we are a truly Christian people.

Charles Kinsey Chilberg

•

The road to hell . . .

BIG RAPIDS, MICH.

Enclosed find name and address of a neighbor who, like myself, is attempting to live on Social Security. I think we can make two votes by seeing to it that he gets the GUARDIAN to read.

If I am alive on April 5 next I will have in the mail $1, to pay for his sub. I do not think he could do it himself.

When I die, I think it will be a tossup as between God and the Devil. The man with the tail will probably say: "Well, you damn fool, come in and get warm, you had good intentions anyway."

Winford Kellum

•

Who's fooling whom?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

As a technician and engineer, I like your paper's dealing with facts. Last April 7 I sent to the Dept. of Labor a factual report on the urgent unemployment problem, challenging the department to refute my facts if it could by calling for a registration through the post offices of every person unemployed but able, ready and willing to work. Why can't you press for such a registration? The truth would be found from the people themselves, and the truth is that there are 10 to 15 millions of unemployed in this country right now. The real figures have been deliberately played down, not for Americans' benefit, but to try and kid the Russians, of all people, that we are living off the fat of the land.

Brother Truman thinks via a Hollywood brain, but I believe in cards face up, no blue-sky deals.

I contributed to the Progressive Party when I could, but I cannot any more—unemployed.

Kard McNally

•

For the jobless

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

When are we going to force Washington to set up a program for the millions and millions of unemployed? Roosevelt never solved the problem. Truman refuses. Maybe communism will, so people can eat.

M. H. Harris

•

High school voice

SEATTLE, WASH.

I'm sure I speak for many, many other straight thinking, far-seeing high school students when I say, "Thank you for putting out a paper which gives the other side; one which is not race-prejudiced and anti-Semitic. I admire your wonderful fight for the banishment of Jim Crowism." **Marjorie Sweazey**

•

Speak up!

CHICAGO, ILL.

Mourn not the dead!
But rather mourn the apathetic
throng,
The cowed and meek,
Who see the H-Bomb threat;
know it's wrong
And dare not speak.

Dr. Ralph R. Sackley

•

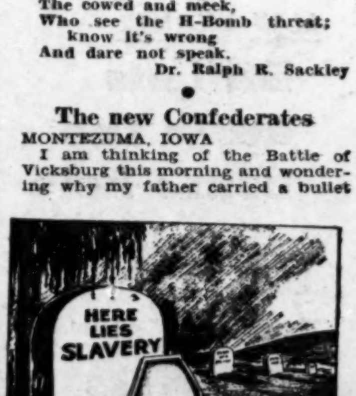
The new Confederates

MONTEZUMA, IOWA

I am thinking of the Battle of Vicksburg this morning and wondering why my father carried a bullet in his leg from the Civil War to the time of his death at 84. In the first place the Union soldiers would turn over in their graves if they knew the U.S. had sunk to the low level of raising the color issue again — as every sane person had supposed that the Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th and 14th Amendments to the Constitution of the U. S. settled the issue for all time.

And they would turn back again if they knew that our great democratic American Congress was repudiating all they fought for. I have been somewhat concerned over the prospect of some of our Iowa congressmen (who voted against the civil rights bill) should they lose their jobs. Messrs. Hoeven, Jensen, Le Compte, Martin, Dolliver are well qualified mentally for generals in the New Southern Confederacy and would probably be of great service to the slavocracy.

Mrs. Lucy B. Dexter



Pittsburgh (Pa.) Courier

•

Radical Catholicism

DALLAS, TEX.

I have long been interested in the Catholic Worker, and was very happy when your newspaper twice quoted from this paper last week. It is also good to read about Father Duffy. I am a convert to the Catholic Church, and perhaps am a radical Catholic. However I am also anti-capitalist. I think the Church should be more active in behalf of the working class. The Church needs more men like Fathers Duffy, Correla, Gorman, and Jules Cardinal Saliege of France. **Charles Russell**

•

The Houston hoofers

HOUSTON, TEK.

Here in Houston we've organized a Committee of Hoofers made up of Progressive Party people and within a few days will start making face-to-face visits to raise money and enlist subscribers. We will do our utmost to keep the people's paper alive. **Harold V. Belikoff**

•

Swiped from H. A. W.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Winston Churchill, on the outside looking in, first sic's Hiroshima Harry on Uncle Joe and then, when that is carried too far and seems about to boomerang, reverses the field entirely and says we should sit down and talk it over with the Russian government. On that point, he now agrees with Henry Wallace, but that doesn't make him a Progressive.

Truman also agreed with Henry Wallace on a dozen points—in October, 1948. But that didn't make him a progressive, with or without a capital P. It got him elected, but it didn't result in any of the progressive things he promised in order to get elected.

Perhaps Churchill's borrowing from Wallace was "too little and too late." **Donald H. Sweet**

Women and peace

BOSTON, MASS.

We women in the U. S. bear a heavy and a terrible responsibility. In the eyes of the women of the world our beloved land looms as the greatest threat to the peace of the world. And peace is what most of the people everywhere most ardently long for.

Peace meetings and campaigns are not reported—with the notable exception of two or three papers, especially the GUARDIAN. One way to tell our sisters abroad what we are doing in the struggle for peace is through letters. I received a very moving and powerful letter last summer from a Soviet mother—one whose son and daughter were murdered by the Nazis.

Madame Kosmodemyanskaya, mother of the heroine Zoya, urges us to speak up against the efforts of the militarists to "ignite the flames of a new war and plunge mankind into fresh misery." She speaks of the dreadful fate of the German women and the determination of her own people to have peace. She writes: "We believe that the progressive women of your country—both men and women—will recognize their responsibility to the world, to their own people and their children."

Lyubov Kosmodemyanskaya has written again asking that letters in response to her appeal be sent to her, so that she may publish them in the Soviet women's magazines and let her countrywomen know we are fighting with them and with all women of good will—for peace.

I will be happy to send a copy of the letter to anyone who would like to have it. Replies may be sent to me for forwarding. I hope that we will join with this noble Russian mother in "the fight for peace and for life itself, for all that is bright and human on earth and in the hearts of men!"

Elizabeth Moos
1 Primus Av.

WEEKLY OR FORTNIGHTLY: IT'S UP TO YOU!

1 — Look at these dates: **May 3 ~~10~~ 17 ~~24~~ 31**

X marks the weeks that a Fortnightly GUARDIAN won't come out . . . the weeks in which the GUARDIAN marks impatient time in the fight for peace and decency.

2 — Now ask yourself:

- Can I afford to let the GUARDIAN skip weeks in this fight?
- Do I know ONE MORE PERSON who should be getting the GUARDIAN?

3 — TODAY, right this minute, tear out the coupon at right and mail it with $1 and the name of a new subscriber. →

Here is another $1 subscription to get the GUARDIAN back in the fight EVERY week.

Name ....
Street ....
City .... Zone .... State ....
Sender's name ....
Address ....

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newspaper

17 Murray Street New York 7, N. Y.

Last week we announced that our target in "Operation Snowball" is May 3rd. YOUR target is at least one more reader. If every reader gets just one more reader — only one! — the GUARDIAN will come out weekly again beginning May 3 and EVERY WEEK FROM THEN ON.

No matter what you've done in response to past appeals, send us a dollar bill now — with the name of a new reader.

WEEKLY OR FORTNIGHTLY: IT'S UP TO YOU!

ROUNDUP

PEACE

All over U. S., all over world the people say: 'No more war'

AN old Chinese proverb says: "It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness."

As spring came to the U.S. the shadows of possible war seemed heavy and dark. But across the nation people were beginning to burn candles for peace. Most of the candle-bearers were still in the middle strata of the population: clergymen, scientists, educators, writers, college students. The movement against the horror of the H-bomb had yet to spread out into the streets and factories and neighborhood clubs. The job is enormous: to urge 100,000,000 Americans into organized action for peace.

To give heart to those who need it, to give an extra boost to those already on the move, here is an incomplete, cursory, random survey of what has been done, what is now happening, what is being planned. It is not enough, but it points the way to a lighted candle of peace in every home in the land.

NATIONAL GROUPS

Take leadership! End the deadlock!

ON Feb. 5, 158 prominent citizens from 28 states, headed by James P. Warburg, Henry B. Cabot and Robert E. Sherwood, urged President Truman to "take the leadership in halting the arms race" and "toward halting economic warfare among the world's hard-pressed peoples."

On Feb. 21 the main headline in the **Christian Science Monitor** read: PUBLIC BOMBARDS CAPITAL WITH PLEA FOR ATOM PEACE. The flood of letters in response to the peace plea of Sen. Brien McMahon (D-Conn.) was "recognized on the Hill as one of the most spontaneous and earnest expressions of grass-roots feeling ever to make itself felt in the offices of the nation's legislators."

On Feb. 22 the National Peace Conference, with offices in New York City, representing 40 national groups with a combined membership of 30,000,000, urged the U.S. to seek a world-wide armaments truce and work for "improvement of the climate of relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R."

"GIGANTIC NEW EFFORTS": On Feb. 27 Dr. Hugh C. Wolfe, chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, asked Pres. Truman to appoint a commission to draft new proposals for control of atomic energy as part of a general disarmament program.

On March 20 a pacifist group, the Peacemakers, announced that a group of some 50 persons would go to Washington on April 1 to fast for a Holy Week for peace. They would distribute leaflets, send delegations to the White House and the Soviet Embassy, and conduct nightly meetings. A number of citizens, the group reported, had refused to pay taxes as a protest against war.

On March 21 the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America announced a "gigantic new effort for peace." (See below, **The World Over,** World Council of Churches resolution).

MORAL IMPLICATIONS: During March the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, with offices in New York City, issued a call for a Mid-Century Conference for Peace in Chicago for May 29, 30 and 31.

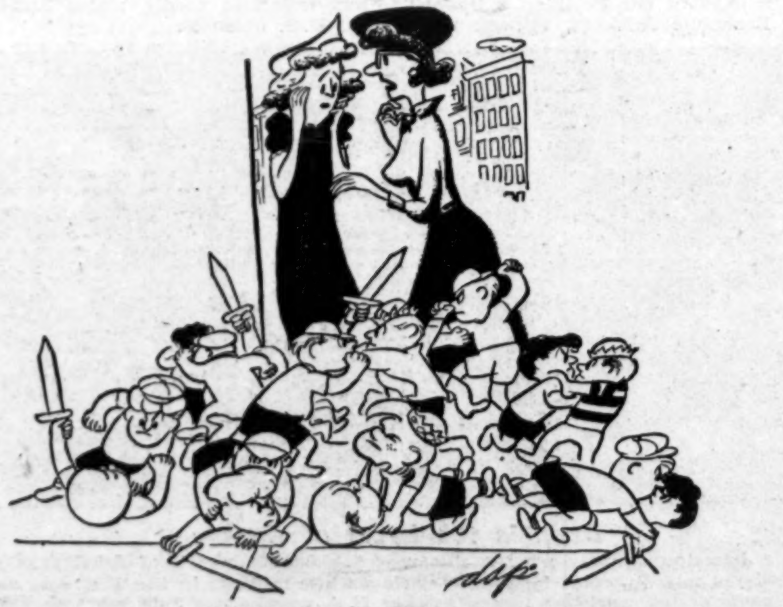
All over the country the 1,245 delegates who had attended the Labor Peace Conference in Chicago last October were busily canvassing for 1,000,000 signatures to peace petitions to be obtained by April 1.

Also in March the International Council of Religious Education, meeting in Columbus, Ohio, proposed to seven of the major Protestant interdenominational agencies in the country that they join in an interfaith conference on the moral implications of the H-bomb: "In this year of our Lord 1950 the Christian churches cannot accept in silence the prospect of mass slaughter."

STATE BY STATE

"You have a voice; you can speak"

IN the states and localities, these were a few of the things happening:



"It started out as a cold war; then all of a sudden . . ."

California

Up and down the state the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), in cooperation with other groups, are holding widely-attended institutes in churches and schools for discussion of the now-famous Quaker peace proposals. Sample approach by one of the leading speakers: "Start in your own community and reflect your views on peace and the need for an end to the cold war. . . . We must not become futilists."

Other clergymen are speaking out. Said Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman during a regular Sunday service in the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles: "You have a voice. You can speak for peace, sanity and goodwill now."

Vermont

The state Progressive Party is approaching other organizations and church groups for a series of meetings in the state on peace. Meanwhile it is distributing leaflets, pamphlets and other literature.

New Hampshire

The Thomas Jefferson Club of Dartmouth College is sponsoring a three-day campus forum on peace to be held April 21, 22 and 23 on the campus in Hanover. Representative groups from colleges in the entire New England region are expected. Said a spokesman for the club: "Most of us are veterans of the late war against fascism, and therefore we are all the more opposed to the destruction of the peace for which we fought."

Indiana

The Indiana Council of Churches, comprising all the Protestant churches in the state, has petitioned the government to seek peace instead of building H-bombs.

In Gary, trade unionists are collecting 15,000 signatures to the Labor Peace Conference petition. Throughout the State the Progressive Party is gathering signatures to its own peace petition.

Moves are on to form a peace committee embracing church and student groups around the University of Indiana at Bloomington. Widely-attended forums are being conducted on the

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

campus of Earlham College (Quaker) at Richmond.

Massachusetts

In Boston the first act of a newly-formed Action Committee for Peace, headed by Rev. Robert M. Muir, was to petition the President for peace in a letter signed by 81 prominent citizens. Since its formation the Committee publishes its own four-page printed bulletin, is circulating a "Vote for Peace" petition throughout the state. It plans a mass rally in May.

At Harvard students are planning a regional inter-campus peace organization.

In Roxbury the Minute Women for Peace are out for thousands of names on peace ballots which will eventually be submitted to the United Nations. Similar groups are at work in Boston, Cambridge, Fall River, Springfield and New Bedford.

Michigan

President Herman W. Stein of the Chamber of Commerce, in an address to the Detroit Economic Club, said: "We've tried Big Three and Big Four conferences and have failed. Why not a single Big Two Conference and deal directly with Russia?"

Connecticut

A continuing organization of educators and others, in existence in New Haven since January, has been conducting regular study groups and peace meetings in cooperation with the Quakers. A peace rally at Yale's Woolsey Hall is planned, and the group's activity is spreading to Torrington, Bridgeport, Westport, Waterbury, Hartford and Meriden.

Maryland

The Maryland Committee for Peace held a highly successful peace conference March 19; the 212 delegates unanimously adopted a four-point peace program. Dr. Philip Morrison, atomic physicist at Cornell University, gave the keynote talk. The Mayor of Baltimore proclaimed March 19 a Day of Peace.

Pennsylvania

The Committee of Philadelphia Women for Peace, described by Walter Winchell as a "front organization," have collected more than 10,000 ballots for peace.

Progressives have called a statewide conference, at which peace will be a central issue, for May 13 and 14 at York.

The Eastern Pennsylvania Labor Committee for Peace held a conference in Philadelphia March 31 to plan delivery to the President of the thousands of peace petitions signed in the region.

DONE YOUR DUTY? (See Page 3)

Illinois

In Lemont, Mary Phillips Buckner is conducting a vigorous one-woman campaign for peace, sending to all she can reach a copy of a stirring peace letter she wrote to the President.

In Chicago the Labor Committee for Peace held a conference attended by 147 delegates representing CIO, AFL and independent unions. Their immediate goal: 10,000 signatures on peace petitions to the President.

MAKE IT GROW: These are some of the activities since Jan. 31, the day Truman ordered construction of the H-bomb as "consistent with the overall objectives of our program. . . ."

The U.S. campaign for peace is by no means yet a true mass movement —but it is off to a start.

BRITAIN

Peace banners fly over Parliament

FROM the top of Britain's Houses of Parliament two large banners were unfurled. One read, "Ban the Atom Bomb," the other, "Peace." Police climbed up and took them down.

Inside, delegates from the World Peace Movement and many hundreds of British citizens button-holed members, demanded a ban on the atom bomb and reduction of armaments. Others waiting to be admitted formed a long queue around the building, sang as they waited.

Before he left, Soviet novelist Konstantin Simonov of the international peace delegation (a similar delegation headed by artist Pablo Picasso was barred from the U.S. by the State Dept.) visited a London working-class settlement and was invited to tea. At a farewell party Mrs. Dubrovina, a Soviet Deputy Minister and wartime major, recited Robert Burns: "That man to man the world o'er, shall brothers be for a' that."

British atomic scientist G. O. Jones said: "If I, personally, am asked to help in developing a superbomb, I shall say: 'No, I am sorry, it is too disgusting.'"

LABOR FOR PEACE: The Scottish Trades Union Congress meeting in April was expected to approve a resolution urging the British government "to appeal to the UN with the passion and energy which the danger demands to secure agreement between East and West." The Co-operative Party, a Labor supporter, was to vote on a similar resolution at its Easter meeting.

Troops of the U.S. 3rd Air Division stationed in England were warned to beware of English stamp collectors and

(Continued on following page)

Business sees the plums of U.S. foreign policy rotting on the tree

By Tabitha Petran

THE "grave national crisis" which is now one of the regular signs of approaching spring was launched this year by Truman's H-Bomb and Acheson's "total diplomacy" announcements. As usual, it was timed with a military appropriation bill in Congress. While the new arms program will "halt our march toward higher living standards," according to the **Magazine of Wall St.**, it will mean "sizeable plums to many segments of industry."

But some important segments of big buisness are doubtful whether the present path of U.S. policy is indefinitely strewn with plums. Spokesmen for them are demanding that "something be done" about U.S.-Russian tensions. Among these are such cold-war stalwarts as Democratic Senators Tom Connally, Millard Tydings, Hubert Humphrey and Brien McMahon, Republicans Kenneth Wherry and Arthur Vandenberg, and U. of Pennsylvania President Harold Stassen.

WHO'S WHO: Connally is backed by the Morgan utility interests of Texas and the oil trust. Tydings is linked to the Rockefeller-Morgan General Foods and the Morgan utility and railroad interests. Behind Humphrey and Stassen stand Morgan's General Mills, the Morgan midwest bank chains and Cowles publishers, also in the Morgan empire. Isolationist Wherry speaks for financial groups with substantial stakes in rural communities. Vandenberg, linked indirectly to the Rockefellers, speaks chiefly for General Motors.

Their demands for some effort to brake the cold war were in part election-year lip-service to popular peace sentiment. But they also highlighted the contradictions in which the cold war has caught U.S. big business. Here are some reasons for business uneasiness about the cold war.

TIME TO DIGEST: The U.S. has bitten off more than it can chew and needs a period of stabilization to digest it all. This is the recurrent theme of Walter Lippmann, generally regarded as a spokesman for the Morgan interests. It is apparently behind the sudden U.S. decision to abandon the plan—designed to make western Europe a dumping-ground for U.S. goods—for "integration" of Europe into one big market.

R. C. Leffingwell, chairman of the board of J. P. Morgan, attacked the plan in the January **Foreign Affairs** as impractical and involving a "great upheaval" at a time when "every disturbance should be avoided." The N.Y. **Times** explained the U.S. about-face as stemming from fear that integration "might result in a second economic bloc" which could be turned against U.S. business.

Fear of further political instability, and uncertainty of controlling an integrated Europe, seem to have brought a decision to "go slow" in Europe for the moment. To consolidate its positions, U.S. business retains the loan powers of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

RUINOUS COST: Dr. Edwin Nourse, then head of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, warned more than a year ago that more military spending would be ruinous. Recently a business journal reported: "Money troubles threaten to displace Russia as the No. 1 U.S. problem. The cold war is getting nowhere; keeps running up bills. The U.S. is to find that there is a limit to what it can do and stay solvent."

With the government already some $6,000,000,000 in the red, many businessmen fear heavier arms spending will bring more taxes, more controls, perhaps disastrous inflation. William L. Batt, president of the SKF industries, warned recently that war will demand such economic concentration as to mean the end of capitalism.

TRADE FRANKENSTEINS: U.S. businessmen are not so dumb as not to recognize the failure of a policy. The **U.S. News** recently described the losses suffered by the U.S. in the cold war as "unprecedented in history." Sen. Vandenberg's plea for a continuation of the Marshall Plan after 1952 is an admission of its failure. The cold war has failed to create stable markets for U.S. business.

Deep in the heart of Kansas

In a limestone quarry near Atchison is $100,000,000 worth of dried eggs and powdered milk—surplus food going useless while millions in the U.S. and other parts of the world go hungry. Other U.S. warehouses hold more surplus.

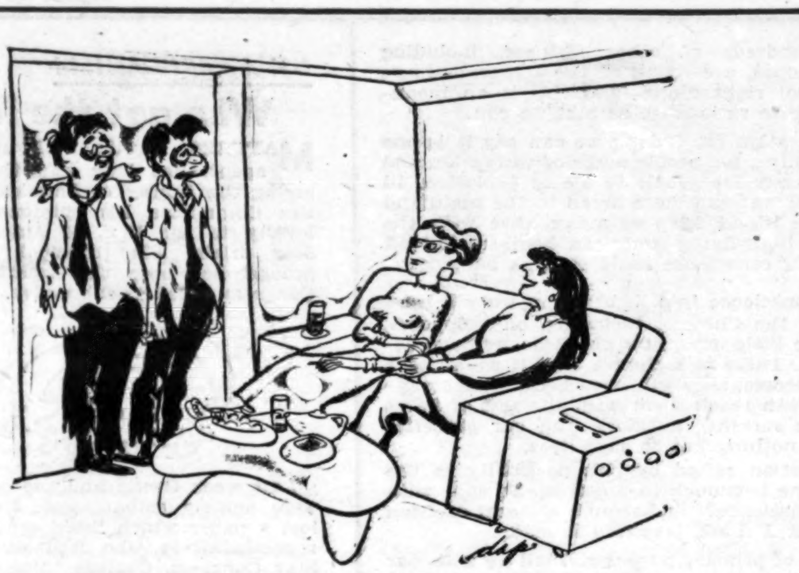
With overproduction in relation to available demand developing throughout the capitalist world, U.S. business is increasingly engaged in a cut-throat war against other capitalist countries for markets. The war is raging in oil, steel, shipping, textiles. The ECA-sponsored drive of Europe and Japan to invade the U.S. home market in search of dollars is giving some U.S. domestic industries the "import jitters."

THE CRY FOR TRADE: These intensified economic rivalries are building up pressures to end the cold war embargo on east-west trade and to cut down the Marshall Plan. Western Europe with 6,000,000 tons of idle steel capacity, for example, wants to sell steel in its normal markets in eastern Europe and the Far East. The cold war, said **U.S. News** recently, "is getting seriously in the way of Japanese recovery. Japan wants to trade with Communist China in a big way." So does Britain. So also do influential groups in the U.S.

At an off-the-record State Dept. conference last fall, businessmen led by John D. Rockefeller III and Roger Lapham, big west coast shipowners, unanimously demanded immediate recognition of Communist China and aggressive trade discussions.

U.S. textile machinery manufacturers are up in arms against the Marshall Plan. U.S. silk manufacturers complain of Japanese dumping here. The National Cotton Council wants the U.S. to finance Czech purchases here of $100,000,000 worth of cotton over a five-year period. Sparking its fight is former Undersecretary of State William Clayton of Anderson, Clayton & Co., biggest cotton brokers in the world. The Cotton Council claims that eastern Europe can absorb one million bales of U.S. cotton a year or 1/15 of U.S. production.

Because of all these contradictions U.S. business at the present time has no policy—and consequently the State Dept. has none. Even if real peace doesn't attract big businessmen, intensified cold war is not as inviting as it once was.



"Well, whose world peace plan won this time?"

(Continued from preceding page)

schoolchildren lest they be tricked into giving secret information.

As British war expenditure estimates rose to $2,184,000,000 for the year, proposals for peace talks with Russia were turned down by Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin: "We don't think it would be a success. We think it would lead us into difficulties."

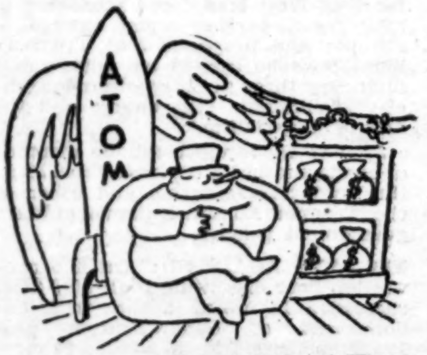
U.S.S.R.

Americans at the Kremlin

MOSCOW greeted its delegation from the World Partisans of Peace in the Grand Kremlin Palace. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet listened to former U.S. Asst. Attorney General O. John Rogge appealing for more free speech and less recrimination on both sides of the East-West deadlock. In the U.S., the State Dept. denounced all foreign visitors to Moscow as Communist tools. John Foster Dulles warned the U.S. not to "fall into the trap" of Soviet peace moves.

Soviet historian Eugene Tarle, writing in **Culture and Life,** warned that the "road of the Trumans and Achesons leads straight to the prisoner's dock." He reiterated the Soviet conviction that "the struggle and competition (between East and West) can go on in peaceful forms." **Pravda** devoted three full columns of its four-page March 29 issue to saying the same thing.

Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, said the Soviets had made peace bids to the U.S. for four successive years, and cited six reasons for believing them sincere. One was: "Russia never uttered words of war or threats to atomize other peoples with bombs. Russia has organized at home a great campaign for peace."



Trybuna Wolnosci, Warsaw
Pax Americana

THE WORLD OVER

The people lift their voices

MUNICIPAL councils of over 1,000 Italian cities have passed resolutions approving the peace proposals of the World Partisans of Peace. In many towns, the proposals were adopted unanimously with the support of rightist parties.

In Mexico, Spanish Republican exiles appealed to their fellow-exiles the world over to join in the fight "for peace, democracy, the Republic, Spain."

In Paris, on March 10, 11 and 12, thousands of Peace Partisans from all over France assembled for a "National Assizes" to demand an end to their government's participation in cold and hot wars. The mass convention, which required reception centers in four Paris railroad stations to receive delegates, followed similar Assizes in localities throughout France. A keynote headline: "Patriots will save liberty and impose peace." Said the Catholic Abbe Boulier: "The people must lift their voices, they must make themselves understood by other means than words." He announced he was collecting money for an international prize for the best psychiatric thesis on "Anti-communism as a Mental Disease."

Concerning the official "solution" of quelling the peace movement by sending foes of war to jail, Boulier said: "The big things have always been done by people coming out of prison. . . . As far as I am concerned, a police officer will never replace my conscience."

800 million for peace

In Stockholm, delegates representing 800,000,000 people in peace movements in 30 countries attended this month's meeting of the World Partisans permanent committee. From general secretary Jean Laffitte they heard a progress report: Over 30 peace congresses, the organization of peace groups in 81 countries since the Partisans' founding last year. Of peace delegations sent to the world's major parliaments, only those destined for the U.S. and Holland were barred.

Despite government hostility, the Partisans were treated with every courtesy. Only Swedish newspapers decided to boycott the meeting, reported nothing in the press. (8,000 miles away, in Montevideo, Uruguay, newspapers adopted similar tactics against a conference of the Latin-American Labor Confederation, which is fighting the AFL-controlled Inter-American Labor Confederation.)

Churches ask big effort

In Geneva, Switzerland, the executive committee of the World Council of Churches passed a special resolution: "The Hydrogen Bomb is the latest and most terrible step in the crescendo of warfare that has changed war from a fight between men and nations to mass murder of human life. . . . We appeal for a gigantic new effort for peace. . . . We urge governments to enter into negotiations at once and to do everything in their power to bring the present tragic deadlock to an end."

Twenty-nine major U.S. churches with over 30,000,000 worshippers participate in the Council. There are representatives from 43 other countries.

The UN's Trygve Lie appealed for great power negotiations "all the time and on all levels—the top level, the middle level, and the lower level—inside the UN and outside the UN."

Plan for "legal" fascism

The plot to suppress all civil liberties lawyers

By Fritz Silber

CREEPING fascism has already eaten deeply into the freedoms guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution. To preserve their right to free thought and expression, especially to views opposing the cold war, the American people must fight on many fronts—to repeal the Smith Act, defeat the Mundt bill and end loyalty purges, witch-hunts and countless localized assaults aimed at suppressing traditional American activities.

The Truman Administration's plan to jail at least 12,000 Americans under the Smith Act has brought into sharp focus one key attack. That is the attempt to deprive the victims of their right to self-defense by putting out of action lawyers who block the road.

CUE FROM CLARK: In 1947 U. S. Attorney General (now Supreme Court Justice) Tom Clark gave the cue: take left-wing lawyers "to the legal woodshed." Last summer he wrote in **Look** magazine: "Some legal advisers of Communist defendants are obviously Communists themselves. The trials give them the opportunity to carry out the Communist mission which is to degrade our system of justice."

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina took the cue at Foley Square. After conviction of the 11 Communist leaders in the Smith Act trial, he cited for contempt and sentenced their five lawyers—Harry Sacher, Richard Gladstein, George W. Crockett Jr., Louis F. McCabe and Abraham J. Isserman—and defendant Eugene Dennis. The sentences were based on Medina's unsupported charge that the six had conspired to disrupt the trial and ruin the judge's health.

WHO'S IN CONTEMPT? Because of the clear relationship between the Smith Act assault on minority rights to teach or advocate political views and the drive against lawyers who defend those rights, the fight of the six is of crucial importance. It will probably be decided next month by the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The comprehensive briefs of the six, supported by hundreds of outstanding citizens, show:

- *That Medina's charges required trial before another judge under the court code.*
- *That Medina himself blocked defense efforts to present a full case by frequently denying the right to argue legal points—and then found the lawyers guilty of contempt for insisting upon argument.*
- *That every instance of "contempt" cited by Medina was in fact an effort to adhere to the lawyer's Canons of Professional Ethics which demand "entire devotion to the interest of the client . . . and defense of his rights."*

HISTORY'S RECORD: The briefs underscore the historical role played by liberal lawyers in the preservation and expansion of freedoms. They cite the famous English attorney Thomas Erskine, whose defense of the Dean of St. Asaph contained this ringing challenge to an overbearing judge:

"Your lordship may proceed in whatever manner you think fit. I know my duty as well as your lordship knows yours. I shall not alter my conduct."

They cite Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, who courageously defended the editor John Peter Zenger when his lawyers were disbarred in his free-press trial in colonial New York. They recall the trial of J. Thompson Callender under the Alien and Sedition Laws, when Circuit Judge Samuel Chase thundered at a defense lawyer: "Take your seat, sir, if you please! I tell you that this is irregular and inadmissible . . ." Callender was convicted, but five years later Judge Chase was haled before the U.S. Senate because of his conduct of the trial.

(Compare this exchange at Foley Square. Judge Medina: "Now, Mr. Marshal, just escort Mr. Isserman over to the seat." Isserman: "I would like to make an objection to your Honor's question. Am I allowed to do it?" Medina: "You have made it. Go back and sit down there.")

THE THREAT: The record shows that Clark's words and Medina's actions are parts of a pattern. In California two liberal attorneys were publicly censured during their defense of a union on anti-trust charges. In the perjury trial of Harry Bridges, two defense lawyers were cited for contempt a la Medina. In New Jersey and Connecticut, civil rights lawyers were barred from defending their clients

The point was well made by Defense Attorney Harry Sacher when he stood before Medina after the contempt sentencing and said:

"I respectfully submit, your Honor, that a country with an intimidated bar is a country whose liberties are in danger."

FOR THE DEFENSE, JAIL

The five defense attorneys at the Foley Sq. trial. L. to r.: A. J. Isserman, George Crockett, Richard Gladstein, Harry Sacher, Louis McCabe.

Jennings Perry

Bread for China

I HAD rather plant a seed in the ground than take a city. (The only one I ever wanted to take was Carcassonne, for the walls.) This spring, I shall plant some extra seeds with the thought of having a surplus ready if Congress gets around to Point Four by harvest. The Chinese seem to be ready now.

The point of Point Four is to lift the living standard of needy peoples. "When they no longer are needy, they no longer will be interested in communism." Of course you must keep the people alive in order to be able to minister to their wants. That would be, I should say, Article I, Section 1 of Point Four.

It will be quite legal for us to begin our uplift in China at any time. Our friend on Formosa has issued a blanket invitation for us all—government, philanthropists and missionaries (especially missionaries)—to go on into China and start saving the millions stricken by the famine. His spokesmen hint that our relief ships would be permitted to go through his blockade.

THIS particular famine is unlike the other China famines we have read about all our days. This time it is not the Yellow River nor the locusts nor the drouth. It is the imperialistic Russians who, Formosa confides, are demanding food deliveries under Secret Article X of the Sino-Russian treaty of friendship and mutual aid, leaving the Chinese to starve. The Generalissimo's heart bleeds for his countrymen who are dying of starvation, particularly the women and the little ones.

Meanwhile hundreds of other Chinese, including women and little ones, are dying of the Generalissimo's aerial bombardment right along—and this is an incongruity we will have to rationalize as best we can.

Out of consideration for Chiang we can say it is one thing, a touching thing, for people to die of starvation and another thing entirely for people to die of explosion. In this way we may, if we send more bread to the mainland than bombs to the island, keep as many alive with the bread as Chiang's high-flying American bombers kill off with the bombs. Our conscience could strike a balance.

IF we bring our conscience into it, however, we will have trouble. Most of the Chinese, including, one supposes, the women and the little ones, now are Reds, or have associated with Reds. There is a chance that if we do save the lives of these people, they will have become incorrigibly Red before we can reach them with the rest of Point Four, which is the sure-fire antidote, and our groceries would be gone for nothing but to save lives.

The grave question raised by this possibility in the field of politics alone is enough to appal us. To cope with it in the field of conscience would require a moral decision all of us are not yet, I think, prepared to make.

It is a question of primary purposes. Shall we with our surpluses relieve want when we see it merely to relieve want, out of simple fellow-feeling? Or must there be a quid pro quo in sight—say gratitude, or obeisance, or political or religious conversion? In the old days, when there was catastrophe we sent aid without asking beyond the extent of the need. But with the cold war on can we afford to show sympathy to people on the other side? Is it totally diplomatic to send dyed potatoes and powdered milk to feed people who, if they become hungry enough, may turn against a regime we persistently dislike?

CHIANG KAI-SHEK is making what medicine he can out of whatever distresses China. I will plant my seeds nevertheless, because it comes spring, and because we may rediscover, one day soon, that a policy of common humanity does more for our peace of mind—and the peace of the world—than all the gifts of arms or goods we ever could give with strings attached.

WASHINGTON

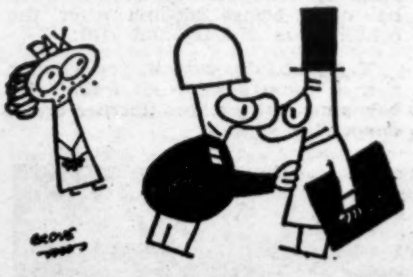
CONGRESS

"Jumping Joe" stars in spring circus

You will never run mad, niece;
No, not till a hot January.
Shakespeare: Much Ado About Nothing

LAST January, when the 81st Congress reconvened, was one of the hottest on record. The madness came and grew. Three months later it flourished on all sides. As Shakespeare observed elsewhere, there was method in a lot of it.

Most of the bi-partisan clamor arose from menacing competition among Truman Democrats, southern Democrats and Republicans to see who could be most anti-communist in this election year. The contest raged in debate on European Recovery Program funds, in the hearings on Sen. Joseph McCarthy's (R-Wis.) charges of communism in the State Dept., and among the host of hunters of un-American activities.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Yes, yes, but the Russians are still way behind in the production of stink bombs."

LOG-ROLLING BILLIONS: President Truman told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the $3,000,000,000 Marshall Plan fund was needed to stop communism in Europe and Asia; the alternative, he said, might be war.

Then election-year politics went to to work: the economy bloc forced through an amendment to dump $1,000,000,000 in government-held farm surpluses abroad; others slashed $250,000,000 from ERP cash; shamrock-minded representatives voted to end aid to Britain until Britain ended the partition of Ireland.

But when the fun was over the House passed and sent to the Senate the omnibus foreign aid bills minus the farm-surplus and partition-of-Ireland amendments. Democratic proposals to pump aid-money to anti-communists passed untouched. But the Point Four program to "assist undeveloped areas" of the world was pruned from $45,000,000 to $25,000,000.

This week's "master spy"

When Sen. McCarthy named Owen Lattimore as a "master spy", some of the method in the madness became apparent. Lattimore had once advised Chiang Kai-shek's regime, was a wartime U.S. consultant on Far East policies, has written consistently that the peoples of Asia need relief from tyranny and corruption.

Lattimore, arriving home from Afghanistan, called McCarthy a "madman," a "hit and run politician" whose "wild charges" had been made "falsely, irresponsibly and libelously." McCarthy's efforts brought a sharp lecture from Henry L. Stimson and replies from various high-placed victims which usually began: "While I am not a Communist. . . ." Many voiced concern that McCarthy was demonstrating U.S. disunity in its anti-communism.

THE HOLY THREE: Far less attention was paid to McCarthy himself than to his headline accusations. Of him GUARDIAN's John B. Stone reported: "Study of his record shows remarkable agreement with three powerful lobbies in the capital—the New Germany gang, which wants a strong industrial and military Reich, the Chiang gang, which wants more U.S. boodle dollars, and the Catholic Church, which is strongly anti-communist."

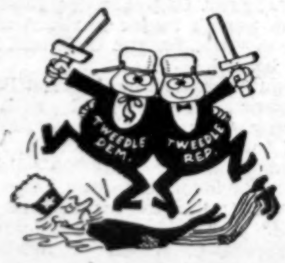
Close to McCarthy, it was reported, was a very wealthy ex-linen importer, ex-enthusiast of Chinese curios named Edward Kohlberg. Of all Chinese curios Chiang Kai-shek has excited Kohlberg most.

THE RED GENERAL: Kohlberg's money is behind the virulently anti-progressive **Plain Talk**, edited by Isaac Don Levine. **Plain Talk** for months past has been attacking Owen Lattimore. Kohlberg is also involved in the pro-Catholic **China Monthly** which has been campaigning vigorously against Lattimore and Gen. George C. Marshall.

That may have been the reason that Drew Pearson last week predicted McCarthy's next "top red agent" would be Marshall.

Still another shadowy element behind McCarthy's campaign is Joseph P. Kamp's Constitutional Educational League, once ardently pro-Nazi group named as a factor in the wartime sedition indictments. Lattimore has been a favorite target of the League. Two days before Sen. McCarthy made his charges in committee, the League helpfully gave them out to the press.

Top Republican strategists were letting McCarthy alone, Stone said. If his shotgun backfires, he will pay. If it doesn't, the Republicans will profit.


TWEEDLE DEM.
TWEEDLE REP.

GIMME THEM PAPERS: Truman labeled McCarthy and like-minded Republicans as saboteurs of foreign policy, declared that his Administration had already proven its anti-communism. He firmly refused to yield any "loyalty" files to politicians poking for election ammunition. But he was willing to yield a few key foreign-policy posts to Republicans: former Sen. John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky was assigned to assist Acheson; another Republican was sought for a UN assignment.

Two developments showed the success of Republican strategy designed to strengthen the party's control in the making of foregn policy. One was the Administration's renewed wooing of Sen. Arthur Vandenberg, who demanded "unpartisanism" rather than "bipartisanism." The other was the suggestion of Rep. Richard Nixon, Republican co-author of the Mundt-Nixon police state bill, for a bipartisan conference to map a "consistent, realistic foreign policy."

UN-AMERICANISM

Who got the list?

MATTHEW Cvetic, FBI undercover agent, has long had the job of giving the House Un-American Activities Committee his opinions on the loyalty to the U.S. of Americans of Slav origin. His principal stamping ground has been the American Slav Congress, listed as subversive.

Last week Cvetic and the committee were acutely embarrassed. Cvetic had lost a paper which listed senators and representatives who had praised the Slav Congress. Curious thing was, the list disappeared in the committee room when only Cvetic, his lawyer and members of Congress were present.

Temporary embarrassment did not prevent the committee from obtaining another $150,000 to continue its work. Chairman John S. Wood (D-Ga.) told the House part of the job was compiling a "bible" of a million "subversive" names. Only 12 House members voted against the committee; among the many Fair Dealers who voted for it was Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr.

ADA

Free—and captive

AT the third annual convention of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) in Washington last weekend, a rank-and-file revolt on the convention floor knocked out the words of a policy statement continuing ADA's ties with "the Fair Deal elements of the Democratic Party" and "progressive elements of the Republican Party."

Rank-and-file distaste for what they termed an "atmosphere of captivity" did not extend to the leadership. Retiring chairman Hubert Humphrey, Democratic Senator from Minnesota, accepted the convention decision with reluctance, according to the N.Y. **Times**; and incoming chairman Francis Biddle, former U.S. Attorney General, promptly restored the disavowed Democrats to the standing of "senior partner" to ADA.

Behind scenes, ADA's Foreign Policy Commission carefully knocked from the program all dissents against Truman bipartisan policies, including demands for East-West trade; condemnation of ERP for thwarting social change in Europe; and proposals that Truman's Point Four be carried out with public financing through international agencies to eliminate "the charge and the fact of imperialism."

Similar backstage brushoffs disposed of condemnation of German renazification and recartelization and other of the Truman Administration's military government policies.

YES—AND AGAIN NO: On the convention floor dissenting rank-and-filers succeeded in killing a slick-trick endorsement of Administration pro-Franco policies. But they failed to force through a resolution putting ADA on record for inclusion of non-discrimination safeguards in federal housing, health and education programs.

On loyalty purging, the convention called for a Presidential investigation of the President's own loyalty program as well as Congressional attacks on federal personnel and "unlawful" investigative activities endangering civil rights.

In addition to Francis Biddle, ADA's new national board includes Democrats Chester Bowles, Senator Herbert H. Lehman and Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., and right-wing labor leaders David Dubinsky, James Carey, Walter Reuther and Emil Rieve.

WEEKLY OR FORTNIGHTLY: IT'S UP TO YOU (See Page 3)

THE ECONOMY

UNEMPLOYMENT

Babies starve; U.S. "wealth" irks Harry

STROLLING along the beach of Key West in colorful sports shirts, the President of the United States sent word to Congress that the nation "cannot live isolated in relative wealth and abundance." The President endured that sunny, comfortable isolation, but away from the beaches there were other Americans.

In Louisville, Ky., where 3,000 families live in coal sheds and chicken coops, a five-year-old child, Odell Murphy, died of pneumonia contracted in a freezing coal shed. Police jailed his mother on charges of neglect. She said: "I got laid off at a tobacco plant almost two years ago and I haven't been able to get anything steady since. I had good jobs during the war and I went back to all those places—but they don't seem to have any jobs any more."

The city coroner commented: "It may look like neglect to some people because they don't live like that. But the child was raised in a coal shed. He probably wasn't neglected any more on the day he died than he had been all his life." Said the city police captain: "The alleys are filled with people living like that, both white and Negro."

CHARGED WITH POVERTY: In New Orleans, La., Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Phillips were jailed on charges of cruelty to their 9-day-old son because they lived in a cardboard house, scrounged in garbage dumps for food. Fourteen hours later they were released on direct order of the Mayor, promised jobs and help. The Phillips, forced to sell their Florida farm a year ago to pay doctors' bills, had been following the harvest through Alabama, Tennessee, and Louisiana, landed in New Orleans destitute.

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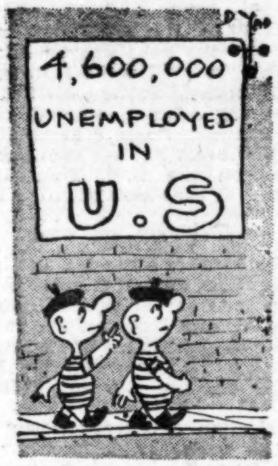


Daily Worker, London

"They're still leadin' the world, Alfie."

In Los Angeles, officials were investigating charges of starvation among 100,000 migrants in San Joaquin Valley. The national Negro magazine **Ebony** reported that 28 babies had died and 450 children of cotton pickers suffering malnutrition had been admitted to the Fresno hospital in five months. (See Richards' west coast wire, p. 8.)

Idle Americans

Throughout the country by official count there were 4,684,000 unemployed —700,000 more than at the worst point of the 1949 recession—although industrial production was higher in March than at any time in the past year. In some major cities, according to the Labor Dept.'s Director of Unemployment, unemployment was as bad as in the worst days of the depression.

CIO President Philip Murray warned that the nation was heading for an unemployment crisis. He attributed the jobless figures to elimination of jobs by new machinery. The AFL's **Monthly Survey** warned that if unemployment isn't checked now "it will be too late to stem the tide." The problem is aggravated, it said, because "there is at present no prospect that business will increase enough in 1950 to restore full employment."

PROSPECTS: The signals pointed to reduced business activity. The Dept. of Commerce estimated that business investment in new plant and equipment —which has been the major prop of post-war business activity—will drop 11% this year. In January, the President said any further cut in this business spending would mean real trouble.

Financial analysts polled by the **Journal of Commerce** predicted a 5 to 10% drop in industrial production this year. Retailers worried because sales were barely holding their own and in some cases were dropping badly at a season when business usually improves.

The job outlook for college graduates was summed up in a **Wall St. Journal** headline: "Giant Class '50 Faces Bleakest Employment Prospect in a Decade." The number of workers exhausting their unemployment benefits was growing. Of some 2,000,000 who used up their insurance rights in 1949, 800,000 were still out of work at the year's end.

A **Wall St. Journal** survey found that seven of eight key industrial states paid out more to the jobless in the past year than they collected. The **Journal** headlined the survey: "Jobless Insurance Funds are Fading Fast Despite Business Boom."

LABOR

SPRING IN DETROIT

UAW talks go on; locals hit Reuther

IN automobile plants and along the waterfronts CIO leadership, now in active alliance with the boss against part of their own rank and file, fought him hesitantly for distant pork chops.

In Detroit 89,000 Chrysler workers members of the United Auto Workers (CIO), were still on strike. They walked out on Jan. 25 asking a 10c-an-hour increase. The rank and file wanted to see the raise in their pay checks. UAW president Walter Reuther persuaded the union's membership to let Chrysler decide whether the raise should be in pensions or wages. Late last month Chrysler offered to put $30,000,000 into a pension trust fund and allow the union "some control" over its uses. There was talk of a settlement.

When the arithmetic was broken down it added up to a 4c-an-hour increase, all in pensions. Reuther soothed fears of a sell-out by denouncing the company's terms as "some very fancy footwork to deceive the public and the workers."

PROUD POSE: Reuther had already rejected a $1,000,000 loan from the

(Continued on following page)

Powderkeg in the slums

Detroit is an uneasy city— new race riots threaten

By Ruth Haney
GUARDIAN special correspondent

DETROIT

ON a Saturday afternoon in February, 1942, the Sojourner Truth federal housing project for Negroes in this city was ready for occupancy. But no Negro families moved in that day: 1,200 whites, most of them armed, kept them out by force. Scores were injured.

A month and a half later a grand jury indicted as the instigators three members of the "National Workers League" (anti-Semitic Nazi front group) and of a residential "improvement association." Two weeks after that 2,000 armed troops and police stood guard while 14 Negro families moved in.

In industrial Detroit where interracial tensions had been building for years, hostility between Negroes and whites paid economic dividends to many of those controlling the city's industrial and political fortunes. A year later the big trouble came. On Monday, June 21, 1943, one of the worst race riots in U. S. history struck Detroit. After the regular army had restored order, 31 were dead, nearly 1,000 injured, 1,300 (mostly Negroes) jailed, more than 150 sentenced to 90-day terms.

SPARKS IN THE WIND: Four months after the outbreak a Detroit court lit a fuse for a future explosion by convicting two young Negroes of starting the riots by means of "false rumors."

Last week the fuse sputtered dangerously close to the blow-off point. In recent days these things had happened:

- A cross was burned in the yard of a Negro family which had moved into a northwest residential area.
- In an eastside residential area two of 100 new homes offered for sale to Negroes were burned.
- A clash occurred between Negroes and whites following a basketball game at Olympia Stadium.
- A white streetcar motorman injured a Negro woman by closing the door on her foot; in an ensuing argument he shot and killed her husband.

In the city's charged atmosphere, any one of these could set off a new eruption. Hurrying the process was the city administration under newly-elected Mayor Albert E. Cobo.

THE POWDER KEG: All hands are agreed that housing is a key issue in the situation. Most of the administration, including the mayor, were elected with real estate interests' backing.

Since taking office, the mayor and a majority of the City Council have abandoned all proposed public housing; adopted a slum-clearance program at city expense on behalf of private real estate groups; dismissed a Negro Housing Commission member for opposing its policies; refused to end segregation in existing housing, and reiterated a stand against "changing the racial characteristics of a neighborhood."

The proposed slum-clearance program is the powder keg: most Detroit Negroes are crowded into horrible slums in or near the center of the city. White supremacists, bigots and terrorists are organized in almost all outlying residential areas to exclude them, by force and violence if in no other way.

WILL THE BLOOD FLOW AGAIN?
This was a scene in Detroit in June, 1943.

FIGHT FOR HOMES: Negro occupants of 6,500 units in the downtown slum area have been served with eviction notices and the threat that steam shovels will come in on May 1. They have no place to go.

One delegate to a conference to form an emergency housing committee headed by Rev. Charles A. Hill said: "They're trying to drive us out of Detroit. You go to the Welfare Department and they give you no help—but they offer to buy you a ticket back to Mississippi." Another warned: "A 92-year-old woman got her eviction notice and, believe you me, they'll have something on their hands when they come to move her out—she's ready for them, and we are too." A third said: "I've got six children, and I want to keep them all together. I'll fight for a home for my family and for all the other people who need homes."

The new committee is demanding that no evictions be served until low-cost housing is available to the victims.

AGAIN BLOOD? George Schermer, head of the Mayor's Interracial Committee formed after the 1943 riot, recently became so alarmed at mounting tensions that he rushed publication of a prepared report without waiting for the committee's approval. In it he named housing as the key factor in the current crisis.

Publication of the report at least had the merit of bringing the issue into the open. Detroit is an uneasy city today. If progressives and liberals can prevail, there will be homes and harmony. If the real estate interests, the bigots and the arsonists have their way, blood will run in the streets again.

(Continued from preceding page)

United Mine Workers. "We don't want loans," he said. When the Farm Equipment Workers, raided repeatedly by UAW, sent $1,100 and truckloads of food to the Chrysler strikers, Reuther sent men to the picket lines to shout, "We don't want donations," as the trucks unloaded.

General Motors workers in Flint urged their Chrysler brothers to hold out for a 9c wage increase plus their pensions. GM workers are asking a 9c raise, 22c in pensions.

The Reuther pattern meanwhile was worked out at Nash Kelvinator, where all those working in the plant for 25 years or more and reaching the age of 65 would get monthly pensions of $100 including their social security benefits. Less than 1% of the workers were likely to benefit by the pension plan. All are bound by the terms to 15 months without a wage reopener.

ANTI-REUTHER: The Reuther pattern was fashionable in top CIO circles but the response down below was unenthusiastic. At Ford Local 600 Reuther's man Carl Stellato, backed by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, ran second for president. He polled 11,586 votes. Anti-Reuther Thomas Thompson ran first with 12,121. Progressive-backed Percy Llewellyn polled 5,939. Thompson and Stellato will compete in a run-off later this month.

Races for other offices were similarly close. W. G. Grant, who spoke out at the recent National Labor Peace Conference, drew 7,378 votes for financial secretary and will stand against Stellato's candidate Paul Good in a run-off. Good polled 9,964.

In plastic, building and tool and die divisions, progressives swept the Reuther wing out of the executive boards. William Hood, Negro recording secretary backed by progressives, drew 13,947 votes, the most given any single candidate.

At Fisher Body Local 45 the progressive leadership which has bucked Reuther's pattern all down the line was easily returned to office. In the Station Wagon plant at GM progressives ousted the right wing from office.

Blowing out their brains

In politics outside the union the Reuther pattern was wearing thin. From Bay City, Mich., Bernard O'Neil, steward of Local 486, International Laundry Workers (AFL), sent the GUARDIAN this report:

"Here in the Saginaw Valley we have a good clinical exhibit of the fatal disease of the CIO. This is one of the most conservative areas in Michigan. In 1936 the mine workers spearheaded a CIO organizational drive. In two years 4,000 auto and accessory workers were organized into UAW. Steel workers were organized in four fabrication plants. Municipal and utility workers were unionized in spite of fierce opposition. (Local hardware merchants issued baseball bats to strike-breakers.) A progressive-minded CIO council managed to weld local labor into a compact instrument for the betterment of working conditions and progressive politics."

WALTER REUTHER
Rough weather

THE GREAT CHANGE: "Then came 1948, year of the great change. The Reuther-Murray-Scholle (Gov. August Scholle) group decided to take over the local Democratic committee under the auspices of a so-called United Labor Political Committee. It was never united because the AFL adroitly stepped aside when it was plain the governor wanted Labor to 'go down the line with the Democrats.' The right-wing CIO failed to take over the Democratic County Committee.

"During the political brawl the United Public Workers Local 337 stayed aloof. This brought down the wrath of the right-wing CIO on the UPW workers who are mostly conservative Democrats. When the UPW was expelled from CIO the heat was on. The press shouted "red." The CIO raided. The public workers left the UPW but elected progressive officers, steered clear of CIO. There is no indication that the local CIO brass has yet seen the handwriting on the wall. They are still chortling as they blow out their brains."

Curran at sea

While Reuther struggled another CIO crown prince, Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, was having his own troubles. The rank and file, despite predictions of disunity, held fast and put a united slate in the field to wipe out the Curran machine in June.

As election preparations got under way the ballots were seen to differ widely from the sample ballots issued earlier by Curran. The rank and file sued for an injunction to hold up issuance of the ballots.

The Supreme Court refused for the second time to hear an NMU appeal from a lower court ruling outlawing the hiring hall. Faced with a return of the waterfront to hiring off the pier, blacklisting and shanghaiing, Curran talked of lobbies and letters. The rank and file called for a strike in every port.

The decision meant re-negotiation of every contract the NMU has.

FREEDOMS

DENNIS

5 votes for fear

THREE years ago Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, was baited by Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (now in prison for fraud) while trying to testify against two bills before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Dennis refused to take the bait. Thomas ordered him brought before the committee again, and Dennis refused. He was cited for contempt, convicted by a Washington, D. C., jury which included seven government workers.

Last week U. S. Supreme Court Justice Sherman Minton read a decision upholding the Dennis conviction. The issue was: could U. S. employes, subjected to rigorous witch-hunts by numerous policing agencies, be expected to render fair, unbiased verdicts in cases like that of Dennis? The court's majority (Minton, Reed, Jackson, Burton and Chief Justice Vinson) said that loyalty purges did not induce fear in government workers.

NO ROOM FOR HONESTY: Two justices, Black and Frankfurter, dissented strongly. Said Black: "Government employes have good reason to fear that an honest vote to acquit a Communist or anyone else accused of 'subversive' beliefs, however flimsy the prosecution's evidence, might be considered a 'disloyal' act which could easily cost them their job. That vote alone would in all probability evoke clamorous demands that he be publicly investigated or discharged outright; at the very least it would result in whisperings, suspicions and a blemished reputation."

Frankfurter asked: "Ought we to expose our administration of criminal justice to situations whereby federal employes must contemplate inquisitions into the manner in which they discharge their juror's oath?"

Only a few days before, the U. S. Court of Appeals, splitting two to one, had upheld the government's dismissal of Dorothy Bailey from the Federal Security Agency on "loyalty" charges without hearing, presentation of charges or confrontation of witnesses.

WITCH-HUNT VICTIMS

Freedom deadline

TWENTY-FOUR individuals facing fines and jail on contempt convictions as a result of clashes with the House Committee on Un-American Activities have joined in a public appeal to the Supreme Court to pass on the constitutionality of the House group.

All 24—who include the Hollywood Ten, 12 members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and two representatives of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—have challenged the constitutionality of the House Committee in their appeals to the Supreme Court.

Specifically, the 24 have appealed to

Economic hurricane ahead?

Florida had poor season — except in unemployment

By John Barstow

MIAMI, FLA.

THE sun shines bright on the palms and dazzling luxury hotels of "The Beach", where white skins turn a cultivated brown and naturally dark ones are forbidden to appear. Hardly a cloud is to be seen in the sky. But Miami businessmen are sniffing the air uneasily, disturbed by the possible approach of an economic hurricane.

Though the influx of tourists picked up in February and March, the expected flow didn't materialize this year. Room occupancy was off 6%, bar revenue 20%, said the Miami **Herald** in February. Nor was there any housing shortage in the $50-a-day hotels (bellboys will tell you the very rich start their economizing on tips).

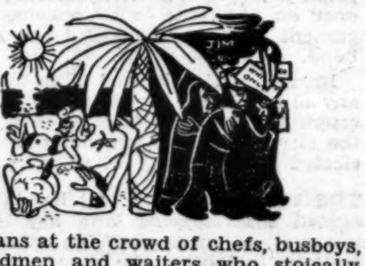
In place of these there was an influx of "snowbirds"—refugees from the recession up north, following the lure of jobs on the Gold Coast. They have come by thumb or jalopy in the hope of sending for their families later, or have traded a second mortgage for a trailer and brought the family along on the theory that going hungry is easier when you don't have to freeze too. They besiege every address in the want ads, a hundred for every job—carpenters and cooks, truck drivers and waitresses.

THE JOB RACKET: The Florida Industrial Commission reports that mid-January unemployment stood at 10,000, or approximately 25% more than last year. This is just an indication of the real figure—estimated as high as 20,000—since it is based primarily on claims for compensation, which last only 14 weeks in Florida. Immigrant job-seekers increased 32% in December. Most out-of-state workers do not apply for work at the Florida Employment Service because of the job monopoly held by private employment agencies.

There are dozens of these flourishing examples of "free enterprise", profiting on human hopes on a scale that makes Miami's celebrated "baby-selling ring" seem like a Salvation Army post in comparison. They sell every kind of job, $25 down in advance. They do get you the job. The gimmick is that you are fired after you've worked long enough to pay the balance due the agency in order to make room for another client.

"IT AIN'T GOOD": There are a few exceptions, of course. "Charley," who came to Miami as a chef 20 years ago and established his own agency controlling the best hotel jobs in the area, fights for his clients like a good union business agent.

"What do you want me to do?" he groans at the crowd of chefs, busboys, saladmen and waiters who stoically pack into his tiny office each day. "It's rough, I'm telling you. I get reports from all over the country. It ain't good."



He nods at a man with whom he has been arguing. "Here's a damn good cook. Wants me to give him a job as a pantryman. Got a wife and three kids. What do you want me to do?"

JIMCROW WITH INTEREST: Negro and Spanish people take the brunt of the unemployment. Few are the jobs that aren't listed "White Only".

A fight even for jimcrow jobs developed around the painting of a new Negro veteran housing project. According to the Miami **Times**, local Negro newspaper, Negro painters were formerly organized under a United Mine Workers charter which was withdrawn on the understanding that they would be chartered by the AFL Painters Union. The charter has never been forthcoming, and meanwhile white painters are working on the segregated Negro projects on the ground that the Negro painters are non-union.

The Negro community is demanding a prompt change in policy from the city or union or both, and their case is arousing wide attention among both white and Negro citizens here.

PEPPER: Against this background the newly-reorganized Progressive Party of Dade County, together with a fast-growing Young Progressives organization, is developing activity on a program for public works and a head-on assault against all forms of job discrimination.

Particular attention is being paid to the forthcoming primary battle between Sen. Claude Pepper and Rep. George Smathers for the Senate. Pepper, who has a good voting record on domestic questions despite his knuckling under to Truman's cold-war policy, will unquestionably have the support of the Negro people and labor against Smathers, candidate of the most reactionary elements.

The PP decided against officially endorsing either candidate, but said in its resolution: "Smathers' victory would mean that the scum of political life . . . would move into a major position of power. . . . It would be a disaster for the Negro people in particular."

the Supreme Court to reconsider its recent decision affirming the conviction of Eugene Dennis, national secretary of the Communist Party, whose challenge of the constitutionality of the House Committee was not considered by the Supreme Court.

The 24 individuals along with Dennis will speak at three "Deadline for Freedom" meetings in New York on April 12, at Manhattan Center, the St. George Hotel, Brooklyn, and Sunnyside Gardens, Queens. They will urge a public letter-writing campaign to the Supreme Court, which will have Dennis' request for re-hearing before it this week.

BRIDGES TRIAL

Verdict awaited

A Federal Court jury of eight women and four men was deliberating in the perjury trial of Harry Bridges, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt as the GUARDIAN went to press. Its verdict depended on whether it believed the witnesses marshalled by the U. S. to prove that Bridges lied in 1945 when he denied membership in the Communist Party.

In its first 18 hours of deliberation, the jury yielded one key to its thinking: it requested re-reading of the testimony of John Schomaker, a government witness who swore he saw Bridges fill out a Communist application card, and Bruce Jones, a defense witness who swore Schomaker was a liar.

U. S. prosecutors had used most of their final speeches to argue that their own witnesses weren't perjurers.

When color kills

THESE were a few of the fruits of jimcrow last week:

NEW HAVEN: James Carl, 42, worked for the New Haven & Hartford R.R. He suffered from high blood pressure, had been warned by his doctors to take it easy. On Feb. 5, a Sunday, he borrowed a car from a friend to make a call. He had an accident—his first in 20 years of driving.

Police found Carl semi-conscious, booked him on a charge of drunkenness and threw him into a jail cell. Next morning a police doctor noted partial paralysis, sent him to St. Raphael's Hospital. Two nurses found his pulse "sluggish" and discharged him. Back at the jail, four policemen forced Carl under a shower, tossed him into a cell reserved for delirious drunks.

Carl's family finally located him after 72 hours. They put up bond, and took him to New Haven Hospital, where doctors operated twice for a cerebral blood clot. On March 15 James Carl died.

The Civil Rights Congress, determined to end New Haven's record of police violation of Negro rights, assigned three attorneys to press negligence and assault charges against city officials.

ANN ARBOR: At the University of Michigan Hospital, Mrs. Philpot runs an elevator. Answering an emergency call, she passed up the ring of a white doctor. When she returned he flew into a rage, hit and insulted her. She was out 11 days without pay.

The incident has aroused Ann Arbor liberals. The Progressive Party, campaigning for a municipal FEPC and supporting three candidates on the issue in city elections, made the Philpot case an acid test for politicians.

ST. LOUIS: R. S. Pettis was recently a patient at the Missouri Pacific Hospital, operated by several railroad brotherhoods and maintained by the union dues of members of all races. These are some of the complaints he lodged with the Civic and Labor Organization Against Discrimination:

Negroes are put in "colored wards" near the laundry and boiler rooms. Poor ventilation allows steam to seep in. The letter "C" (for "colored") is stamped on all tableware, linens and equipment used by Negroes. Though Mo-Pac has more than 800 Negro workers in St. Louis, the hospital has only 32 "colored" beds, no dining or waiting-room facilities. Negro visitors must wait outside the hospital, eat in the hallways.

The anti-discrimination group has organized a campaign to force public recognition and correction of the hospital's jimcrow methods.

Trumanville, U.S.A.

New American immigrants in California's valleys

By Gene Richards
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

LOS ANGELES

SHANTY towns and Trumanvilles are springing up along the rivers and highways of California's lush valleys. Jalopies prowl the back roads hungrily for agricultural employment. The migrants huddle in their shacks and trailers and their over-sized kids grab a week here and a month there in crowded schools where luckier youngsters eye them strangely. And like the Joads in the Hoovervilles of yesteryear, there is a ferment as family joins family and committees form.

"You know, you can kick a dog just so long, and he'll turn and bite you. . . ."

This folkway of rebellion crops up in a letter addressed to the Independent Progressive Party of Orange County by Mrs. Walter Barnes, stranded with her family and 300 other impoverished migrant laborers facing starvation when the pea crop failed at Huntington Beach, just a few miles up the coast from fashionable Laguna Beach.

THE "PEA PICKERS": Her letter brought a truckload of green vegetables from the IPP, front page publicity in the big city press, a discussion in the legislature and eventually some relief.

"I would like to speak in behalf of all of us immigrants, or what we are known by in plain English—road tramps, pea pickers, trash, Okies, fruit tramps," wrote Mrs. Barnes, a stout, fortyish woman, a shrewd, pleasant mother with a work-lined face and exhausted patience.

With 74 other families, hers had been lured to the area by the advertising bill of a labor contractor to pick peas that weren't there to be picked. With tents and trailers, they came from parts of California 300 miles away, from Arizona and New Mexico. They landed with gas money spent and no groceries.

WHAT DO YOU EXPECT: The labor contractor said "Sorry," and the relief people said: "No groceries unless you sign away a portion of your future earnings." Migrants who earn $1.80 to $2.40 a day can hardly afford to gamble with their future earnings.

"We go out in all kinds of weather, regardless whether we are sick or well," commented Mrs. Barnes, "in order to feed our families. What do you expect our children, the younger generation, to be? And we are ridiculed as Okies. Oklahoma was good enough to be added to the Union as a state. Nowhere in the constitution does it say that people born in any particular state are barred from being accepted as Americans—white or colored. There are no exceptions."

NO SCABS HERE: Orange county authorities demanded that the migrants sell their transportation, trucks, cars and trailers, or their simple essentials, cooking utensils, portable washing machines and the like, to buy food.

The labor contractor tried to get off the hook by suggesting the 300 pickers traipse down the road to Carlsbad and take over the jobs of Mexican nationals engaged in a fight for a pay raise. But the camp's committee responded: "We won't scab."

Later, when the pay dispute was settled, some of the stranded pea pickers joined the Mexican nationals at work. The rest were planning to picket Huntington Beach officials to force relief.

THEY SEE NOW: In the State Assembly a progressive Democrat announced the plight of the pickers, said he was demanding an investigation of false labor advertising in Orange County.

In the tent-trailer colony, a committee was organized to guard the stack of vegetables dropped off by the IPP. Authorities had objected the piles of vegetables beside the tents were unsightly and should be hauled away as garbage. Committeemen declared they'd fight to prevent that.

"Our eyes are opened," said Mrs. Barnes, "to what causes these conditions."

CHEERING ON EMPTY STOMACHS

At the Avondale Farm Labor Camp in Phoenix, Ariz., kids dance in front of boxes of food sent by sympathetic Los Angeles residents after a newspaper appeal.

WEST COAST

CALIFORNIA

3 in Senate race

SEN. Sheridan Downey (D-Calif.) won't run for re-election. The reason: ulcers.

The California senator has been under heavy criticism for some time because of his support of private interests in their fight against the Interior Dept.'s irrigation and public power plans for the state.

Bidding for his seat will be Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas, a Democrat, and Republican Rep. Richard M. Nixon of Mundt bill fame. Last week a third candidate stepped into the race: Manchester Boddy, publisher and editor of the Los Angeles **Daily News**, a newspaper that puts heaviest emphasis on blood and sex.

Roosevelt stumps

James Roosevelt, son of the late President, has already traveled 3,200 miles and visited 150 towns in a vigorous campaign for governor of California against Republican Earl Warren. Last week he insisted that he will speak in every community in the state with ten or more people.

His issues: jobs, housing, schools, attraction of new industry to the state by the development of abundant water supplies and cheap public power, an end to freight differentials that discriminate against western factory products.

No other Democrat has yet entered the lists to oppose him in the primaries.

OREGON

Labor-farmers-PP unite for jobless

"THERE'LL be a pickup in the spring," people in Oregon said. Last week spring had come, but joblessness was still well over the critical 12% mark. In Portland it was estimated at 13%; in some lumber regions it was up to 20%.

A 12-man committee, formed at a conference of representatives from the Progressive Party, the CIO, the AFL, the State Grange, the Oregon Farmers Union and other groups, was pressing for two major aims: a federal public works program and a state pension system to give everybody $65 a month at 65.

MORE THAN SPUDS: Matt Meehan, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's representative at the conference, said: "We're not just asking for a chance to pick up a few apples or dig a few spuds. We're out after a real federal public works program at union wage rates until such time as so-called free enterprise can again support the people of the country."

The conference demanded of Gov. Douglas McKay an immediate special legislative session to deal with jobs and pensions. The pension program will be placed before the voters at the next elections.

CAMPUS COLD WAR

Faculty united

BY a tie vote of 10 to 10 the Regents of the University of California, meeting in Santa Barbara April 1, refused to rescind their order requiring the faculty on the University's eight campuses to sign a special non-communist oath by April 30 or be fired.

For a year the faculty have fought the anti-communist loyalty oath. But they agreed, as in the past, to subscribe to the regular constitutional oath required of all state employees. Recently they voted by secret ballot to ask that a ban on Communists be written into their contracts. The Regents stuck to their demand of a special oath. Faculty committees, largely made up of deans, department heads, and senior members, gathered to map further action following the Regents' vote. "The cold war is on," said Prof. John D. Hicks, chairman of the history department. "The faculty is united and will remain so."

BEST BUY
$1 for a year's
HONEST NEWS
Spread the word

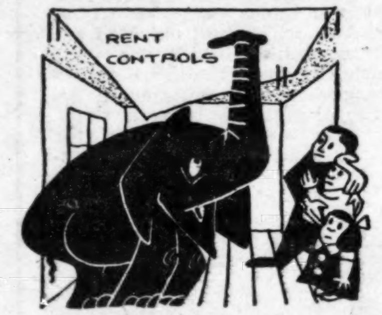
NEW YORK

Dewey "control" decontrols rents

AT nearly four o'clock in the morning the lawmakers finally stood up, tossed papers into the air, cheered and went home. New York State's legislature had adjourned. Its final act: passage, after bitter wrangling, of three rent-control bills including one sponsored by Republican Gov. Dewey himself, which squeaked through with the help of one Democratic vote.

A week later with the fanfare of an NBC broadcast the Governor signed his own bill, vetoed the others.

"SHAMEFUL SURRENDER": The American Labor Party, bitterly opposed to the Dewey measure, promptly demanded of NBC equal time for Rep. Vito Marcantonio to reply to Dewey arguments. It called the bill "a shameful surrender to the real estate interests."



The bill cancels federal authority over rent control in the state, vests it in an administrator to be appointed by Dewey. Ostensibly freezing rents at March 1, 1949, levels, it opens many a loophole for increases.

Dewey or Don't he

As the legislative session ended, some political dopesters were sure Dewey would run again for governor; just as many said he wouldn't.

Supporting the second view was the break-up of a group of close advisers and assistants known as the "Dewey Team." Dewey parceled out state jobs to them that will care for them long after his term expires in December.

OVER-SUPPLY: The Democrats were having their own gubernatorial troubles. By the end of March no less than nine potential candidates had been trotted out as hopefuls. This is the full list:

U. S. Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson; Democratic State Chairman Paul E. Fitzpatrick; Coca-Cola executive James A. Farley; Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing; Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr.; Court of Appeals Judge Charles W. Froessel; State Supreme Court Justice Ferdinand Pecora; Marshall Plan Ambassador W. Averell Harriman; Federal Judge Harold R. Medina.

Rain rained out

New York City hired Harvard scientist Dr. Wallace E. Howell as rainmaker, and agreed to pay him $100 a day. He warned in advance that the best condition for rainmaking was weather that looked like rain. He could do little with blue skies.

He prowled the Catskills in a police plane looking for clouds which he could bombard with dry ice. Most of his rainmaking experiments were called off because of rain. In many places, floods made rainmakers look all wet.

SPORTS

BASKETBALL

Garden Gettysburg

FROM the balcony of Madison Square Garden early this month during a basketball game between North Carolina State University and New York York's City College the Confederate Stars and Bars was unfurled—and then furled in defeat.

Some in the South thought they had suffered the worst defeat since Gettysburg. A basketball team composed of Negroes and Jews and captained by a chairman of the Young Progressives of America had won two basketball championships, an unprecedented victory. The City College five had triumphed over the teams of the swankiest and most lilywhite private colleges in the country.

They did not set out to prove a political point. They played a good game and bigots thought the walls were tumbling down.

THE WORLD

IN ITALY: THEY DIED FOR THE RIGHT OF OTHERS TO LIVE
Senators, intellectuals and laborers at the funeral of workers slain by police

"HANDS OFF!"

Workers are striking against war cargoes

WHEN 14 nations were fighting Lenin's Red Armies on Russian soil after World War I, "Hands Off Russia" strikes erupted in the homelands of the invading nations. British, U. S. and French workers blocked shipments of munitions to the aggressor armies.

Around the world this month similar strikes are taking place—against shipment of Atlantic Pact arms, suppression of colonial liberation movements, economic exploitation accompanying war preparations. Here are some strike bulletins:

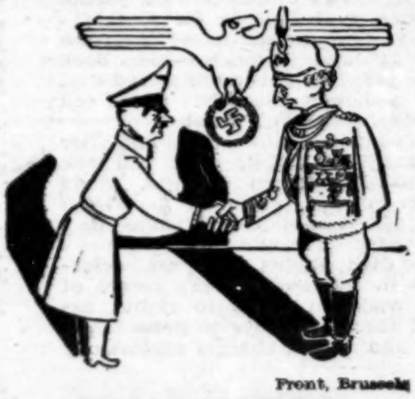
France

Dockworkers at Marseilles were entering the third week of a strike called to demand wage increases and to oppose unloading of U. S. war supplies. Stevedores at Calais, Brest, Rouen and Nice joined them in a 24-hour sympathy strike. Longshoremen at Nice voted to turn the one-day strike into a walkout of unlimited duration. Arrest of three Marseilles strikers by police was followed by a 24-hour walkout of 35,000 dock workers who closed down every port in France evcept Cherbourg.

NO END IN SIGHT: In a dozen industries throughout France striking workers were fighting for wage increases desperately needed to eke out a bare subsistence living. The strikes involved workers from all three of the major labor organizations—the General Confederation of Labor, the Socialist Force Ouvriere, and the Catholic unions. Gas and electric workers went back to work after winning a 5% to 13% wage increase and bonuses. GUARDIAN's Stanley Karnow wrote: "Nobody sees an end to labor action. After this first breather there will be more to come."

Africa

In French North African ports, dockers refused to unload U. S. fighter planes bound for France under the North Atlantic Pact. They had previously refused to load arms for use against the liberation movement in Indo-China.



Front, Brussels

HITLER and LEOPOLD
Those were the good old days

Belgium

Belgian longshoremen in Antwerp issued a plea to U. S. seamen not to scab on waterfront workers who refuse to handle war cargo. "We have resolved," they said, "not to load or unload a gun, a cannon or a single bullet of the deadly war cargoes that are brought to our shores."

In Brussels and the Walloon provinces of the South half a million workers struck for 24 hours to demand the abdication of exiled King Leopold III. Specifically, Belgians were uniting against Leopold, against the rearmament of Germany, for peace and economic hope. About 15% of Belgium's labor force is unemployed.

Canada

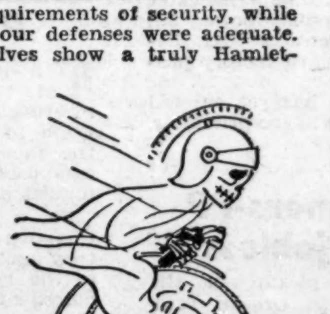
In Vancouver, seamen and resident Chinese workers picketed the Formosa-bound SS Argovan loaded with tanks for Chiang Kai-shek. They carried

(Continued on following page)

Max Werner

Ike and Louie

IN their recent controversy Gen. Eisenhower insisted we had disarmed below the requirements of security, while Secretary Johnson pretended our defenses were adequate. Our military experts themselves show a truly Hamlet-like indecisiveness and doubts. Senator McMahon wrote once that "when we debate the necessity of a 15-billion military budget we quite literally do not know what we are talking about."



Yet on one point our military leaders are unanimous. "We want a military system which will be bearable financially, which will not bankrupt the country, at a minimum of cost and personal contribution," declared Gen. Marshall, and in this he was seconded by Gen. Bradley and Admiral Nimitz.

Thus it is being recognized by military leaders that a budget of 13 to 15 billion dollars is the upper limit for our military policy. Yet with this budget we count **one single armored division.** The case is not an accident and not a miscalculation: it just belongs in the line of our military policy which gives priority to air-atomic strategy and reduces land power to a minimum.

TOM-TOMS: Our military policy is drifting into chaos because the atomic bomb proved to be the great disorganizer of our strategy. The Navy, the atomic scientists, the Army leadership warn against the Air Force concept of atomic strategy. Military arguments against atomic strategy are overwhelming: the A-Bomb cannot defeat the Soviet bloc stretching over two continents; it cannot stop the Soviet Army; and in a war including an atomic duel the U. S. would be at a disadvantage because of her greater vulnerability.

In the long run atomic strategy cannot prevail against the anti-atomic opposition. And to see to what pitch this anti-atomic opposition is rising, one has to look into the interesting book by William Hessler, **Operation Survival.** Mr. Hessler is a former Navy officer, he once ran for Congress on the Democratic ticket, and he belongs politically in the camp of the Administration. Yet he writes about our atomic strategy:

> We Americans are the inheritors of a perverted concept of war, spawned by our own genius for harnessing science for the goal of destruction. We must return to a valid conception of war.
>
> Today the American people, whipped to a false hysteria by anti-Communist tom-toms and frightened by horrifying weapons of their own devising, have become the world's only nation relying on arms designed for systematic urban massacre. . . . And the threat of war, with the obscene overtones of mass annihilation, remains a basic instrument of American foreign policy today.
>
> The American leader whose evil fortune it becomes to wield this tool of blind destruction will be the Genghis Khan of the atomic age; and his name will live just as long in infamy.

ATOMIC ENERGY: The spectre of the H-Bomb has only worsened the situation and made it more chaotic. With almost unbelievable innocence, Sen. Kenneth Wherry has approved of the H-Bomb as a weapon "to protect us at lesser cost in money and manpower." The H-Bomb as an instrument of economy and budget slashing!

Yet Sen. McMahon has proved authoritatively and convincingly that the atomic policy is devastatingly expensive. He said the atomic armament race "mocks at hopes of balancing the national budget," and that "ten or fifteen years of intensified cold war may cost us as much as the second war itself."

(Continued from preceding page)

signs demanding: "Peaceful trade with China."

Britain

The British Communist Party called on trade unionists to refuse to handle arms shipments to Malaya where British troops are battling a people's independence movement. British dockers protested the expulsion of three union leaders who led the dock strike last summer by refusing to work overtime until mid-April.

Australia

Conservative Prime Minister Robert Menzies prosecuted striking dock workers in Melbourne who refused to return to work at his order.

Japan

In Japan 2,000,000 workers struck, threatened to strike or participated in slowdowns to enforce wage demands. One labor leader said the strikes were designed not only to win higher wages but "to destroy the occupation's restrictive economic policies."

The coal, metal and electrical workers went back to work after the government ordered compulsory arbitration. Government workers, forbidden by law to strike, carried on the wage fight with slowdown tactics and refusal to work overtime.

Italy

Peasants were defying the government and occupying uncultivated land belonging to big landowners. The land occupation movement, which has swept the southern provinces, moved north and across to the island of Sicily. In Sicily's province of Palermo 25,000 peasants have taken over uncultivated land in the past few weeks alone. Outside the gates of Rome, landless farm workers again moved on to land they first occupied briefly last December.

Arrests and police violence failed to halt the peasants. In San Severo on the Italian boot, workers fought back all day against Italian troops in armored cars and on foot who tried to suppress their protest against police murders.

On March 22 all Italy was tied up by a 12-hour general strike called by the Confederation of Labor, to protest the deaths of two workers shot by police at Lentella, west of Rome, and new government "public order" decrees directed against workers. During the general strike one worker was killed, 400 were injured and more than 7,000 arrested. In Parliament the left-wing Socialists and the Communists linked the "public order" decrees to the impending arrival of U.S. arms shipments. They denounced these as part of a U.S. effort to prepare Italy for war against Russia.

BRITAIN

Dollars wanted: who'll buy a rug?

THROUGH eight years of the blitz, Dunkirk, blood, sweat, toil and tears, victory, cabinet crises, austerity and wage freezes, the Queen Mother worked at her needle-point. When she was finished she had a rug with a million stitches; the Empire had a dollar shortage.

Early this month Queen Mary's rug arrived for a tour of the land where the dollars grow. It came in an English brown oak, stainless-steel-lined casket, fitted with hand-made, burglar-proof locks by the King's own safe-makers. In addition to the rug itself, wrapped in a dust-proof zip-fastened bag, the chest contained a three-portrait triptych of its royal needlecrafter surmounted with a gold crown. "The casket," announced British Information Services, "will go with the rug to the purchaser," but "will remain in New York while the rug is on tour. . . . An official souvenir booklet will be on sale at one dollar."

LABOR PAINS: While once-proud Britain rang door bells to sell the Queen Mother's needle-point, the U.S. was in magnanimous mood. The N.Y. **Times** editorially urged whoever might buy the rug to "do a gracious thing and return the rug to a grand old lady,

so that it may yet decorate the walls of Windsor Castle."

Back in Britain trade union leaders were trying to convince their parliamentary spokesmen that they could no longer keep their rank and file from demanding wage raises. And in the House of Commons, where their slim majority of seven was whittled down by illness, resignation, a slow count and two deaths, the Labor Party saw its first revolt in the ranks since the election. Tom Driberg, left-wing Laborite, voted against the government in its motion to close debate on the case of Seretse Khama, African chief condemned to exile for marrying a white girl. A dozen more Laborites abstained.

In the wings waited Winston Churchill. Last week Britain's war leader was urging for Germany "equal rank and lasting association" with Britain and France.

LASKI DIES: In the Labor Party's most melancholy hour, its chief theoretician died in an influenza relapse. Through long years of the party's rise to power, Harold Laski had taught, lectured and written on socialism; when the party was swept into office in 1945 he was its chairman. His London home was a salon where, during the war, hundreds of Americans heard him theorize on the prospects for a socialist Europe. His pleas for an understanding with Russia earned him a left-wing reputation in the party, but he avoided cooperation with Communists and his objections to the party's course were rarely effective.. He had become less active in the party since 1947.

In the same week Leon Blum, veteran socialist theorist and three times premier of France, died of a heart attack at 78. Blum had led the French Socialist Party from a United Front policy to one of non-intervention in Spain, and since 1945 to full support of the cold war and the end of left-wing parliamentary unity.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

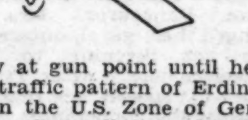
Shotgun 'escape'

85 CZECHS FLY TO GERMANY FLEEING REDS
Headline, N.Y. Herald Tribune, Saturday, March 25.

CZECH PLANES KIDNAPED IN AIR; 58 OF 85 FLED REDS UNWILLINGLY
Headline, N.Y. Herald Tribune, Sunday, March 26.

ONE day it seemed like a daring dash for freedom. The next morning it looked like a hijacking raid. This is what happened:

Three planes, one each from Bratislava, Brno and Ostrava, took off on their regularly scheduled runs to Prague. Fifteen minutes out of Brno, the co-pilot and the radio operator leveled pistols at the pilot's head and commanded him to head 240 degrees, a southwest course. Prague lies north of Brno.



He flew at gun point until he came into the traffic pattern of Erding near Munich in the U.S. Zone of Germany. When the pilot called for landing instructions U.S. operators in the tower were ready for him. U.S. fighters circled about him as if on guard.

CZECHS BOUNCE: Meanwhile the planes from Bratislava and Ostrava were converging on Erding. On the Ostrava plane the pilot drew his pistol and had to tie up the engineer. When they landed, saw U.S. planes on the field, knew that they were not in Czechoslovakia, some passengers refused to leave. U.S. military police removed them.

After close questioning "incommunicado" 58 of the 85 persons aboard insisted they had "fled unwillingly" and insisted on going to Prague. One said: "I was locked up here for six years

(Continued on following page)

Konni Zilliacus

The plain truth about the elections in Britain

By Konni Zilliacus
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

(Elected Labor MP for East Gateshead in 1945, Zilliacus broke with his party over its cold-war foreign policy but continued to support Labor on domestic issues. In the recent election all five "Labor independents" were defeated—Zilliacus by a Labor machine candidate who ran on the slogan "Britain for the British," motto of the British Union of Fascists. This is Zilliacus' evaluation of the election results.)

LONDON

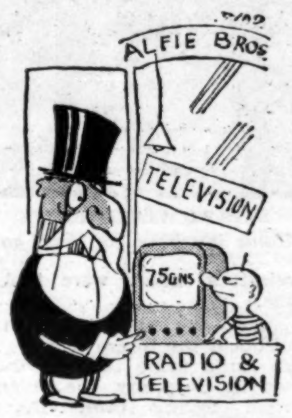
THE East Gateshead fight and its outcome pin-point and spotlight the lesson of the election. My Labor opponent had only one asset—the Labor Party ticket backed by the machine. The main appeal was to fear and class instinct: "I'm voting Labor. What else can I do as a worker?"; "We've got to keep them out or we'll be on the dole again"; "Don't split the Labor vote or the Tories will get in," were the views one heard over and over again.

ZILLIACUS

The Conservative Party polled the full strength of a frightened and disgruntled middle class, who look to it for protection against the workers in much the same spirit as the workers look to the Labor Party. Nostalgia for the past played a big part. But fear of the future was the main motive for the high Tory as for the high Labor vote.

GROUND FOR HOPE: From **News Chronicle** (Liberal) political editor A. J. Cummings, who does not agree with my views, came some illuminating comments on one of my meetings:

"I can assure Mr. Bevin that the invention of the hydrogen bomb lies like lead on the public mind—especially on the minds of the young, who are wondering more and more whether the Welfare State is worth worrying about, whether there is any future worth considering in a world which through some miserable mischance or some Government's stupidity or some act of frightened aggression might in an instant of time be destroyed utterly.



Daily Worker, London
"Yes, m'lord, you can see everything except Ernie Bevin's socialism."

"The only man I heard make the attempt [to discuss the subject freely and at length] was Mr. Zilliacus. . . . As soon as 'Zilli' began to speak I found it impossible to leave. For three quarters of an hour he analyzed with skill, knowledge and intense earnestness the grim situation of which the hydrogen bomb is the fateful symbol.

"He put forward a number of constructive propositions, with not all of which I could agree. But he had a stolid-looking audience of 1,500 people listening with rapt attention. . . . The silence was tense. At the end the cheering lasted for nearly three minutes. It was as if at last these ordinary English folk—'middle' class and 'working' class alike—had been told something they could understand and something they could hope for."

PLAIN TRUTH: That is the point. Facing the real issues would be a vote-winner for the Labor Party. There was intense interest when I explained why it is impossible to combine the welfare state with the warfare state, to maintain full employment, adequate social services and a decent minimum standard of living, or, in the end, to save our lives, unless we cut the defense budget in half; end conscription; secure the withdrawal of American forces stationed in this country; denounce the military obligations of the Atlantic Pact as inconsistent with the UN Charter; and develop a policy of our own in world affairs, designed to break the deadlock and bring about agreement between the great powers.

But only when the economic consequences of our foreign policy bear so heavily on the workers as to press down their standard of living and turn unemployment from a threat into a reality, will the grip of the ticket and the machine on them be broken.

THE COMING CONFLICT: The present Labor leadership, having brought about the election stalemate, is now content to govern on sufferance and bear the full responsibility and odium for carrying out only policies tolerated by the Tories. At this rate they will get into conflict with the workers over the wage freeze in face of rising prices and over starving of the social services to pay for our Tory defense and foreign policy.

Net result: strengthening of those who turn to the Tories, demoralization of Labor supporters culminating in electoral defeat in the autumn. The two factors that ensured a stalemate—fear of the Tories' past record and gratitude for Labor's past achievements—are not enough to win victory.

VICTORY SOON: It may be that as the rank and file react to the workers' growing discontent the Left will raise its head in the party in time to prevent it going down. The reception given to those of us who preached a socialist peace policy as well as a more resolute socialist home policy was proof positive that, if this appeal could be joined to the power of the party machine and loyalty, Labor could sweep the country.

Although we were defeated this time, the fight has laid the foundations for victory the next time.

(Continued from preceding page)

by the Nazis and the Americans treated us in the same way when we arrived."

Two of the pilots who stayed in the U. S. Zone said: "The Communists have a religion of their own which doesn't fit in with our convictions."

As a demonstration it boomeranged.

YUGOSLAVIA

93.2% for Tito

ON March 26 Yugoslav voters went to the polls, 9,746,000 in all. The single-slate People's Front, for which Marshal Tito and his top leaders had been campaigning arduously, got 9,059,113, or 93.2%, for its 620 candidates for Parliament. Tito himself was elected from four districts.

Opposition appeared mostly among two groups: the strongly Catholic Croatians and the non-collectivized landowners.

Tito told foreign visitors from the west that he viewed the election results as indorsement of his international and domestic policies. Moscow newspapers scornfully described the voting as "organized."

DEPORTATIONS

Eislers of 1950

FOR over two years the U. S. did its best to prevent Gerhart Eisler's return to Germany. Eisler escaped last year; from Europe he called U. S. Attorney General (now Justice) Tom C. Clark "America's biggest fool."

J. Howard McGrath, Clark's successor in the Justice Dept., now has his Eislers—Kurt and Steffi Wittenberg. As German Jews and anti-Fascists, the Wittenbergs had fled Germany in 1938. They went first to South America; in 1947 they went to Houston, Tex., to visit relatives. These were their impressions:

STEFFI WITTENBERG

Home is where you can't go

"We saw the discrimination and persecution of the Negro people . . . We saw the same drive for war that we had seen in Germany, the 'danger of bolshevism taking over.' Everybody speaking up for peace was a 'red,' a 'danger to the country'."

THE LONG ROAD HOME: The Wittenbergs supported progressive causes. In July, 1949, they applied for permission to return to Germany; they wanted to aid in reconstruction of East Germany's Democratic Republic. The U. S. arrested them on a deportation warrant, challenged their right to remain in the U. S.

Out of jail on a $1,000 bond pending a deportation hearing, the Wittenbergs waived all rights to stay in the U. S., asked for permission to leave voluntarily or be deported. For nine months the government stalled, refused the Wittenbergs' demands for a hearing or return of the bond.

Last month the Wittenbergs got tired of waiting, said they would leave on the Polish ship Batory on Feb. 18. The government immediately called a deportation hearing for Feb. 20, subpenaed four witnesses to testify against the Wittenbergs. Three refused; the fourth, Moses Leroy, Negro labor leader, said he didn't even know the Wittenbergs.

OFF AGAIN: On Feb. 21 the hearing was deferred. The Supreme Court's decision had made it illegal. (See Deportations, above.) The government regretfully dropped contempt proceedings against the three silent witnesses.

Federal Judge T. M. Kennerly had already sentenced James J. Green, Texas Communist Party secretary, to jail for refusing to testify against the Wittenbergs at a government 'investigation" last December. Assistant U. S. Attorney Bruce R. Merrill predicted that Green's appeal would be denied.

Publicity has cost the Wittenbergs their jobs, made it hard for them to find a home. No longer in a jail with bars, jail to them means the whole U. S.

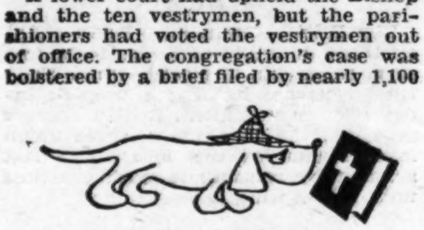
RELIGION

MELISH

We want our rector!

THE N. Y. State Appellate Court heard the appeal of 70% of the parishioners of the Protestant Episcopal Holy Trinity Church in Brooklyn to let them keep their rector, Rev. John Howard Melish. Ten vestrymen, backed by the Bishop, had removed Dr. Melish because he approved the activities of his son and assistant rector, Rev. William Howard Melish, who had held office in the Council for American-Soviet Friendship.

A lower court had upheld the Bishop and the ten vestrymen, but the parishioners had voted the vestrymen out of office. The congregation's case was bolstered by a brief filed by nearly 1,100 Protestant Episcopal clergymen arguing for a minister's freedom of conscience.



Ruling out such arguments, Presiding Justice William B. Carswell insisted on likening the vestrymen to the board of directors of a corporation with the power to hire and fire. He made no objection when the Bishop's counsel, Col. Jackson A. Dykman, exclaimed: "At Holy Trinity Church unfortunately the American group is in the minority. But as Scripture tells us, 'Ten righteous men can save a city.'"

The court was not expected to rule for several weeks.

PRESS

WORLD KNOWS IT—

But don't print it!

THE presses of the Scientific American were rolling last week when the U. S. government ordered them stopped. Three thousand copies had already been printed.

The magazine had offended Washington by including in its issue an article by Cornell University physicist Hans Bethe, who once was employed by the Atomic Energy Commission and is now a paid consultant of the commission. Bethe's article rounded up much that had been written and said concerning the hydrogen bomb. Editor Dennis Flanagan told the GUARDIAN the article contained "nothing not known to nuclear physicists in any other country."

TAKE THE SUBSTANCE: Bethe, in accordance with AEC policy, sent the commission a draft of his story. The commission asked the magazine to delete the substance of it and, when the editors argued, threatened to enjoin the magazine from printing its issue altogether. The magazine's counsel advised them that under the broad terms of the Atomic Energy Act the commission had full powers to stop the publication of any material it considered unwise. The fact that no classified data was included made no difference.

Accordingly the presses were stopped—and while a government representative stood by the copies were burned, the type destroyed. Censorship had come to the Scientific American.

•

The Scientific American, though censored, had less to complain about than the British War Office. Despite official denials, press reports persisted that top secrets between U. S. and Britain would be routed so as to by-pass the new War Secretary John Strachey, charged with a communist past.

Memo to Pegler

READERS of the Richmond (Va.) **Times-Dispatch** are finally having their say about Westbrook Pegler. Letters to the editor turned up recently with these opinions:

"A horrible creature."

"Imagine a society of Westbrook Peglers—each with his own special hate and each ready to work himself up to a righteous frenzy at the drop of a union card."

"'Fret not thyself because of evil doers, neither be thou envious against workers of iniquity; for they shall soon be cut down like the grass and wither as the green herb'."

"Filth."

"This sewage-minded person."

United Nations special

Why 450,000,000 Chinese can't get a UN seat

GUARDIAN UN Correspondence

LAKE SUCCESS

ON March 27 Soviet delegates walked out of two more UN bodies where delegates from Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa represent China: the Human Rights and Transport and Communications Commissions.

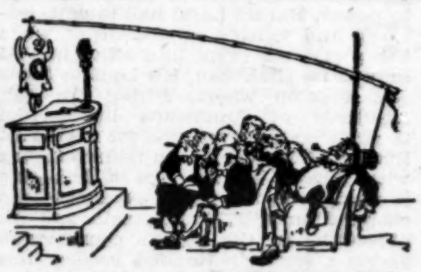
Eleanor Roosevelt, perennial Human Rights Commission chairman, ruled that the Soviet attempt to oust Chiang's representatives was out of order. While procedurally correct, she was definitely wrong in her handling of the question. The meeting looked like a well-rehearsed play, with Madame Chairman rushing to read her lines, studded with carefully chosen words of criticism.

When she ad-libbed, it was in the wrong place. Russia's Tsarapkin was describing recent U. S. aid to Formosa: tanks and equipment, shipped from Vancouver. Mrs. Roosevelt banged her gavel, interrupted: "We are not listening to propaganda speeches here." After Tsarapkin finished his speech, she read a prepared statement condemning the Soviet walkout as "a clear violation of the obligations of the Charter." Soviet views as to which delegation should present China had "no bearing whatsoever on their primary responsibility . . . to serve an organ of the United Nations to which they have been elected." Their "wilful absence" was "propaganda tactics."

LIE'S REALISM: So much American propaganda has been dished out since the Chinese trouble began at UN that it is time to take a look at facts.

First, the UN official position: Secretary-General Trygve Lie is worried and has recently made a series of moves to end the deadlock. (For having tried, Formosan delegate Tsiang accused him publicly of selling out to the Soviets).

Lie, among other things, had the **UN Legal Dept. put on paper what** every diplomat knows: that a state is entitled to recognition when it is in full control of its territory and its administration. Speaking on March 21 at B'nai B'rith's Washington convention (primarily for Washington policy-makers—Vice President Barkley was in the audience), Lie recalled how after the war something more important than the cold war had happened: the winning of their freedom by 600,000,000 dependent peoples of Asia—"four times the population of the U. S. and over one-quarter of the entire population of the world."



People's China, Peking

Farce at the UN Security Council.

THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS: As for China, Lie said, Mao's government had been recognized—and not along the "usual" cold-war lines—by 24 governments including 13 UN members (now 14, with the Netherlands' recognition of March 27). He had tried to solve the Chinese question not because of the Soviet walkout but because:

"The 450,000,000 people of China are collectively original members of UN by the terms of the Charter itself. They have the right to be represented . . . by whatever government has the power **'to employ the resources and direct the peoples of the State in fulfillment of the obligations of membership'** in UN. I repeat—whatever government is qualified, regardless of its ideology."

So that if the Charter compels Soviet delegates to participate in UN work, it also compels representatives of the Chinese people to participate in UN work. U. S. delegates "wilfully" ignore this fact.

SHADY DEAL: Secondly, Formosan finaglings: A few weeks ago, UN observers felt optimistic. Of the seven votes needed to admit New China into the Security Council, only two were missing: those of Ecuador and Egypt, who hinted they would go along. Suddenly, a few days ago, Ecuador announced it would abstain, and Egypt hinted the same.

In Egypt, this is what had happened. About two months ago Formosa sent to Cairo two Moslem Chinese, who begged Egypt not to recognize Mao "for the sake of the Moslems of China." As Egypt hesitated, Formosa proposed a deal to support actively the Arab fight for internationalization of Jerusalem in return.

(The Trusteeship Council, of which China is a member, has been meeting in Geneva since January and is currently drafting the international status of Jerusalem. China supported internationalization when the General Assembly approved it in December, but cooled off to placate the U. S.).

Egypt could hardly say no to the Formosans: in Geneva the supporters of internationalization had had a tough time, and the Soviets' absence deprived them of a solid ally. And so, soon after, the Formosans went to bat for an international Jerusalem together with Iraq and the Philippines, while at Lake Success Egyptian delegate Fawzi now plays Sphinx whenever you say "China."

Thus men who represent nobody but themselves, by immoral deals carried out while they illegally occupy seats in UN bodies, manage to block a just solution of the Chinese representation at UN.

LIVING AND LEISURE

Hollywood in the red

Why? It's simple: the pictures stink

By Jean H. Lenauer

WHEN Eric Johnston and the Hollywood film industry caved in under superpatriot pressures to enlist in the cold war, they started a chain reaction that has snaked right around and hit them in the box office.

The other day Frank Freeman, a Paramount vice-president, released some figures. In 1949 only 12 out of 146 pictures returned a profit. The others lost various amounts of money.

THE OFFENDER

In the film "Bicycle Thief"

Freeman blamed increasing production costs and (of course) unions and government taxes.

HAVE A STATISTIC: Yet there were some curious twists. Freeman said that 57½% of production went for story costs, directors, writers, producers and overhead; only 42½% went for raw film, craftsmen, sets, location—the bedrock elements of film-making. He mentioned further a potential top audience of 33,000,000, with the average good picture playing to 23,000,000. (Audience Research Institute says 15,000,000 people see an "A" picture; you pays your money and picks your statistic.) Beneath the arithmetical confusion lies a clear fact: the audience has shrunk while the population has risen.

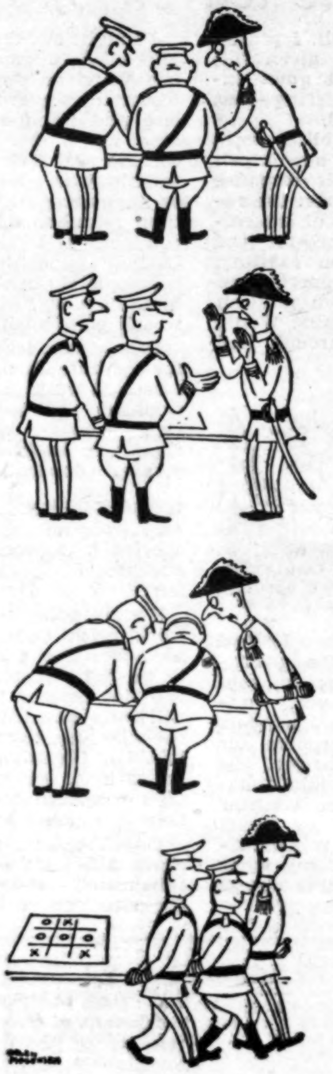
A distressed 20th Century-Fox vice-president came closer to reality: "The motion picture theater once had a steady patronage almost irrespective of attraction." Neither gentleman seemed to think for a minute that the **content** of a film had any bearing on the number of people who would pay to see it. A new slogan—"movies are better than ever"—is supposed to fix everything.

Maybe they could blame television? Unhappily for them, the surveys show that movies do just as badly where there is no television. Lousy pictures are naturally threatened by television elsewhere, just as they are by baseball, weather or a tavern selling 5c beer.

PEOPLE AREN'T CRAZY: In spite of the hysterical assault by mediocrity on the minds and hearts of movie audiences, they still aren't degraded enough to return a profit on everything. Real audience interest and excitement are expressed in the continuing growth of theaters where good and meaningful films, bth U. S. and foreign, are shown.

The Johnston office recently barred its seal to two outstanding foreign pictures, **Bicycle Thief and Devil in the Flesh.** (The former was praised by the Motion Picture Assn. itself as "a picture for everyone... transcends the barrier of language and speaks directly to the mind and the heart.") One wonders if the success of these films isn't behind Hollywood's annoyance.

Progressive people should use the failure of cold-war film policies not only in a passive way—by refusing to look at trash and war propaganda. They should let local theater managers know what kinds of pictures they do want, whether or not Hollywood vice-presidents and the Un-American Activities Committee approve.



De Groener Amsterdammer

Military Games

When you buy a product advertised in this paper, say: "I saw it in the GUARDIAN."

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The Absurdities, Falsehoods and Distortions of the Catholic Encyclopedia

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Books for progress

Diplomacy stripped for an oil bath

By James Aronson

WHEN James Aldridge's novel **The Diplomat** arrived on the scene in February, the critical fraternity of the commercial press clutched a collective handkerchief to its well-rubbed nose. Brief inspection of the book discloses the offense: Aldridge commits the unforgivable social error of regarding Russians as human beings. A deeper inspection reveals a more grievous crime: Aldridge believes that Soviet diplomacy need not be villainous; that it may in fact be based on truth and truth-seeking.

Let it be said here in paragraph two that this book, by an Australian former war correspondent, is a magnificent breath of fresh air in the Great American Swampland of books by generals, admirals, two-bit Communist renegades (that two bits is figurative; the actual take is terrific) and Russian clerks Who Chose Scribner's.

THE ROOT IS OIL: The 631-page novel takes off from the dispute over the Azerbaijanian democratic movement in Iran in 1945 and 1946. It was a dispute in which the Anglo-Americans sought by charges of Soviet interference to keep Iran in hock, to cut Russia off from Iranian oil and keep their own pipelines bubbling. Faculty and with fascinating detail, Aldridge spreads out the story of cynical Western diplomacy, pursuing its dollar-pound chase over the bodies of starving people in the Middle East.

The main characters are Lord Essex, a charming and elegant servant of His Majesty and Ernest Bevin, on whom the sun never sets; Ivre MacGregor, a Scottish scientist drafted into the foreign service, whose scientific integrity and personal honesty force him to grips with Essex; and Kathy Clive, a beautiful and irritating Englishwoman torn between tradition and truth.

MODERN DIPLOMACY: Aldridge has woven into his narrative some remarkably lifelike exchanges between the British diplomats and such figures as Stalin, Molotov and Vishinsky. There are also many fine pieces of incisive dialogue between his two Britons. Here is a sample, as Essex sounds out MacGregor on their mission to Moscow:

Essex: If you wanted to be critical of the efforts of modern diplomacy, what would you say was wrong with it?

MacGregor: Ignorance of common facts, I suppose.

Essex: Is that all?

MacGregor: It always appears that most diplomacy is concerned with each nation's own demands, instead of considering all countries in relation to each other. In any science you learn quickly that everything is interrelated and interdependent, but diplomacy seems to operate on the principle that every country is on its own, fighting for what it can get.

JAMES ALDRIDGE

. . . and not one red menace

HOLD YOUR NOSES: When you've laid this book down you'll read your newspapers and newsmagazines a little differently—especially such gems as this (under the heading: IRAN: Red Menace Revived) from **Newsweek's** diplomatic correspondent a week ago:

"Last week diplomatic reports from Teheran warned that the current Washington policy of providing benevolent but partial protection for the Middle East kingdom would have to be reappraised in the light of Soviet gains made within the last six months.... Riots have been staged... against a background of near-famine conditions...."

Quick, Henry, **The Diplomat!**

THE DIPLOMAT, by James Aldridge. Little, Brown and Co., Boston. $3.75.

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An Easter story

The faith that is the true leaven of Christ's peace-making

Son of a retired Congregational minister in New England, George Abbe is the author of three novels, has taught at Yale, Mt. Holyoke and Columbia, and now teaches creative writing at Wayne University. He is also a tennis professional.

By George Abbe

THE newly-built Methodist church in Warsaw was packed. When the people learned an American was there, they were almost pathetically attentive and cordial. After the sermon, the minister asked me to say a few words from the pulpit in front of a large, simple, illuminated cross.

I felt an unbearable, trembling force of kinship with these faces looking up—hardened with labor, torn with pain, deep with longing for spiritual certitude. Not a person there but had seen a member of the family tortured or shamed, imprisoned or shot. I tried to tell them there were still Christians in America who understood and cared, who sent out the spirit of hope and fellowship to them; but that they in Poland knew better the true meaning of the gospels, having learned love and cooperation through such catastrophes.

HATLESS AT EASTER: How those people sang! They had bled, they knew the meaning of need, and their hearts were in it. I could only compare them with congregations in America—well-fed, stiff, conventional, harrowed by trivial concern, critical of the minister's gestures or clothing, hoping their Easter hat would be the supreme glory of the morning.

This passion, this faith, I had never felt in an American church. I prayed that Americans might be given this conviction, this warm but quiet exaltation, without the suffering that gave birth to it in Poland.

I thought of my father's bitter years in the ministry, and of how much he would give to see this response in Christian American hearts: the response neither he nor any of his colleagues could ever muster—for the parishioners were bent on caviling, and the importance of property and appearances, and their own position of influence in church affairs. Would Americans have to go through hell to learn heaven?

GREATER FREEDOM: When I asked the Methodist pastor how the government treated the churches, he said his parish had been given every conceivable material and moral support and there was greater freedom for Protestantism than ever before. His denomination had grown eight times in a year. He had asked the Minister of Reconstruction how they could show their gratitude, and the minister had replied: "Go on doing what you have been doing—building liberal Protestantism in Poland."

I sought out the editor of a Catholic opposition newspaper. Again I found the American press had maligned and distorted: his group was free to criticize and impugn the government as long as it didn't agitate on street corners and seek open rebellion. Censorship was confined to such things as suggesting that the Russians had been reprehensible in their liberation conduct. But the editor said the Catholic opposition—like all Poland—is completely behind the government's foreign policy, which includes refusal to sell political independence to ERP.

Poland can learn from our concern for the individual, but there are moral forces at work there which Christians would do well to recognize: wider social security, more representation from the basic elements of society, greater cooperation.

WILD GRASSES: I propose this to American churches if they wish to survive in a world that, one way or another, inexorably, is going to the left, here as abroad.

We are going to have to live in the world with Communists (or Marxist socialists) for a long, long time, even if we fight them. For fighting them will not destroy their faith at all; it will only flourish more lavishly, like the wild grasses of China after a great fire. The Communists have faults and limitations, but they believe in applying certain moral principles, and they are doing so.

Mao Tse-tung says: "You can call communism a religion if you like, the religion of serving the people." There are aims and purposes in communism parallel to those in Christianity; their methods differ, their materialism is at odds with our faith; but even if we grant they are beasts and mortal antagonists, what is the injunction of the Bible: to seek love and understanding, to effect reconciliation. Why are Christians terrified of Communists, afraid to know them personally? They are just as human, just as intrinsically divine.

What efforts do we make to talk with them, to get to know them?

THIS WAY TO PEACE: My trip to Poland was a venture in understanding; and I was amazed and enriched. I propose that the Protestant churches set up a series of friendly forums at which Christians and Communists discuss their similarities and differences. And let there be no caviling: "Oh, they'll lie and deceive!"

If we always assume evil and only evil, we shall only announce the prevalence of evil in our own hearts. I knew a Pittsburgh minister who invited a Communist to come and explain Marxism to his young people's group. That is the true leaven of Christ's peace-making in the world.

CALENDAR

Listings in this section are available at 40c a line (six words); minimum charge $2 per insertion. Copy deadline one week before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Calendar, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

Chicago

PEARL HART 60TH BIRTHDAY testimonial dinner Sat., April 8, 7 p.m. Bismark Hotel. For reservations, contact Midwest Comm. Protection of Foreign Born, 431 S. Dearborn, WEbster 9-7752.

ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON speaks on her trip to China and U.S.S.R. at opening mass meeting of Ill. State Conv. of Prog. Party Fri., April 14 at Metropolitan Church, 4100 S. Parkway. Tickets 60c at PP, 170 W. Washington St. Sponsor: Women's Div. PP.

THIRD PEOPLE'S CONCERT starring Earl Robinson, Big Bill Broozy, Jewish People's Chorus. Sat., April 15, 8:15 p.m. 11th St. Theater Build., 72 E. 11 St. Sponsor Ill. Prog. Party.

BARN DANCE-TREASURE HUNT, entertainment and reels of fun. Hyde Park Labor Press Comm., Sat. eve., April 8. 2nd fl., 6338 Cottage Grove. Donation $1.

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1950 IMPRESSIONS OF EUROPE. Boris Steinberg with interesting notes and movies on his trip. Sat., April 22, 8:30 p.m. 39th-40th Wards Progressive Party. Naiman's, 5140 N. Central Park. Refreshments.

SAVE MAY 3 TO SEE dynamic presentation, "Humanity vs. the H-bomb," with musical accompaniment, sponsored by Chicago Council Arts, Sciences & Professions, at city-wide meeting with nationally known speakers. Midland Hotel.

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Chicagoans

JUNE 2-3-4 ?

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Lightweight typewriters

THE Swiss-made **Hermes** lightweight portable typewriter is now available again. It weighs only eight pounds 11 ounces, including the metal case, and has a standard keyboard. But the **Hermes** now has a competitor in a new lightweight **Smith-Corona,** which weighs nine pounds, and has additional features of full-size machines, such as paper supports. Both are surprisingly sturdy for their weight. Both are priced lower than most full-size portables. The **Hermes** lists at $64.30 plus excise tax, and the **Smith-Corona** at $64.50 plus tax.

One discount house that sells by mail is offering 25% off on either of these. Buy Wise Merchandise Co., 110 West 42nd St., N.Y., sells the **Hermes** at $48.23 plus $4.20 tax, the **Smith-Corona** at $48.38 plus $3.87 tax. On mail orders add 60c for delivery. No COD's accepted.

Savings on motor oils

MOST filling stations charge 30-35c a quart for oil, but if you buy it by the gallon from mail-order houses, auto accessory chains or consumer co-ops, and put in the oil yourself, you can cut the cost to 20-22c. Pennsylvania is still considered the best grade, although recent improvements have made mid-continent oils very nearly as good. In older cars that use oil heavily, experts say the second grade is satisfactory, new cars should use the Pennsylvania.

Men's trench coats

A MEN'S shop known to people who want their money's worth in clothing is offering trench coats at reduced prices. Readers outside of New York can order by mail. The shop is Buddy's, at Broadway and 26th St.

Among the values are poplin raincoats at $14.50. These are tailored in fly-front balmacaan style, and are zelan-treated for water repellency. They have raglan sleeves, slash pockets and storm-button collar closing. Comparable coats are $19.95 in most stores. The zelan treatment is "durable," which means you can have it dry-cleaned perhaps four to six times without renewing the finish. (In buying a raincoat, be sure to get this more permanent finish.)

Buddy's also offers a double-breasted trench coat in poplin, with lined yoke and sleeves, for $16.50, exceptionally well made at the price. The store won't accept COD's on these items, but will make exchanges or refunds within five days.

Lower-priced TV sets due

DON'T invest in an expensive television set at this time. TV receivers have already taken a sharp drop this year, but retailers expect another soon, with RCA reported planning to bring out a set with 10-inch screen for $100.

Most ten-inchers were discontinued recently. Such private-brand 12½-inch sets as Sears Roebuck's and Macy's, at about $150, are currently lowest priced. Among national brands, the Tele-Tone 12½-inch model at $170 currently is lowest and can be secured for as little as $136 at discount houses. These prices do not include installation charges.

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CHICAGO

As Kennelly cuts ribbons

Ghetto-minded aldermen may deprive city of 40,000 public housing units

GUARDIAN Special Correspondence
CHICAGO

IN the pie-in-the-sky days of 1945 the City Council housing committee concluded that Chicago needed at least 400,000 new homes in the next five or six years. When dapper, ribbon-cutting Mayor Martin H. Kennelly took office in 1947, he described housing and slum clearance as "the most urgent problems which face Chicago.

Nothing happened. While the mayor slashed ribbons in front of new and remodeled stores, the city housing authority estimated that upwards of 125,000 families were inadequately housed — living doubled up with relatives or in damp, ill-smelling, disease - breeding hovels.

Truth is stranger than fiction and it came to pass that Congress grunted and brought forth a truncated public housing bill. Under it, Chicago was eligible for 40,000 housing units in the next six years—12,000 of them at once. The CHA got busy and after careful surveys, taking into consideration the master plan of the Chicago Plan Commission, proposed seven sites capable of accommodating 10,000 homes.

ABRACADABRA: Four of the sites were slum clearance and three on vacant land. People who felt it would have been wiser to build all the homes on vacant land, and thus add to the city's total housing before beginning to clean up the slums, went along with the CHA selection as the best possible compromise.

But the sites had to be approved by the City Council. And there was the rub.

Chicago's statesmen — the council is Democratic controlled by the overwhelming margin of 33 to 17—feel pretty much about public housing like Truman does about Taft-Hartley: It's a wonderful topic for speeches. Most of them, despite the pious speeches and party planks and the aura of liberalism created by naive magazine writers around the corrupt Democratic machine, were and are against public housing.

How to throw up a smoke-screen to cover their frontal attack on public housing? The magic word was "sites."

SIGHTSEEING TOUR: The sites elected by CHA, the argument went, were impossible. The City Council subcommittee on housing approved two of the seven — additions to housing projects now in existence — and rejected the other five. A subcommittee of the subcommittee then chartered a bus and cruised the city, occasionally taking a glance out of the windows.

Last week they brought in their recommendations. They chose 11 sites capable of holding only 5,300 homes. Many tracts were so small that the cost of development would be prohibitive; others were already earmarked by the city's plan commission for development of industrial areas.

A crowd of more than 100 persons showed up at the committee meeting last week to protest. Alderman William J. Lancaster, subcommittee chairman, took one look at the gallery, decided the committee was in executive session, and ordered the sergeant-at-arms to clear the hall.

MARTIN KENNELLY
Who's got the scissors?

MIDGET GROWS: The anti-public-housing aldermen had gotten an indication of the public temper. But they knew time was on their side: under federal provisions contracts for the construction had to be let by August 1; the CHA had said the sites must be approved by April 1 at latest to allow time to secure titles, make plans and do all preliminary work. So they ducked the issue by passing their choices on to the CHA as recommendations, suggesting that CHA hold hearings on each site.

Clearly the crux of the problem was jimcrow. Illinois state law specifies explicitly that public housing shall be non-segregated. In recommending four additional sites in Negro communities, the subcommittee was fighting a rear-guard action to preserve the lilywhite un-American complexion of their neighborhoods.

Said the Progressive Party's Sidney Ordower: "No pious platitudes from Kennelly will resolve the fact that Chicago is in grave danger of losing 40,000 desperately-needed new units which are available to it in the next six years."

Ordower urged Chicagoans, irrespective of their politics, to call upon Mayor Kennelly to guarantee approval of large vacant tracts for public housing sites — and to see that the ghetto pattern of segregation is broken in the process.

F. O. Matthiessen

By Cedric Belfrage

LEAVING a note to the effect that he was doing "what I must do to be true to my beliefs and my profession," Francis Otto Matthiessen, 48-year-old Harvard professor who helped found the Progressive Party, leaped to death from a 12th-floor Boston hotel window last week. In the name of Whitman, Thoreau and Melville, the American writers he revered and with whose stirrings and ideals he identified himself, he had spoken out for peace without fear during the Time of the Toad which finally overcame him.

The GUARDIAN mourns him especially because he rooted for us from the start and, though comparatively poor, sent $25 in response to our January crisis appeal "in the fervent hope that you will get out of the ditch."

His sister told of his "concern" over the McCarthy circus in Washington and the Harry Bridges trial. To all Americans he seemed to say in his last message: "You cannot as heirs of Whitman's spirit live with this unutterable vileness."

YET he himself, as a Christian socialist who had aligned himself with militant progressives and fervently admired the guts of a Bridges, had no heart left to carry on the fight. It might be guessed that, while he understood as few "Christians" do the militancy of the Nazarene he followed, the implications of militancy were not fully clear to him because he underestimated the forces of evil in our time. For example, the change of regime in Czechoslovakia (a country he visited in 1947 and wrote about) worried him. He understood the rightness in principle of the strong measures taken, but was too much of an idealist in wanting a Christian utopia to spring full-fledged from the clash.

He was a very lonely man, without any family of his own. In his last months he was cut off even from his students—on a sabbatical writing a study of Dreiser, the lonely sensitive giant of modern American letters. "Dreiser," he told friends, "was myself."

His own cold-war American Tragedy has in it a lesson for social realists of the left, which they would betray his memory by not hearing. They did not try hard enough to give this rare and fine American, living in a hell of his own mind, a warm shelter and home with the full sense of belonging to a family.

THE tribute we can pay him, to avoid more such tragedies, is to study the soul of man as we have studied his body: the souls of many a Matthiessen among our own allies who may perish of isolation if we remain too busy with the fight itself to think about them as human beings.

Let us keep time to think more, and more seriously, about people. Then we can face up as resolutely as ever, but more effectively, to the forces of incarnate evil in America and the world—stripping off, and helping the Matthiessens strip off, all illusions about this evil and the crimes it is ready to commit.

They won't let us sing, Robeson

The author of this poem, smuggled out of the country by friends, is the beloved revolutionary poet of Turkey who was sentenced in 1938 to 28 years' solitary confinement and is still in jail—his life reportedly in danger.

By Nazim Hikmet

THEY won't let us sing, Robeson
Songbird with the wings of an eagle
Black brother with teeth of pearl
They won't let us shout our songs.
They are afraid, Robeson
Afraid of the dawn, afraid to see
~~Afraid to hear, afraid to touch~~
They are afraid to love
Afraid to love passionately like Ferhat
(You, my black brothers
You must have a Ferhat too. What do you call
him, Robeson?)
They are afraid of the seed and of the soil
Afraid of the rushing waters
Afraid of their memories.
The hand of a friend is like the warmth of a bird,
It has no price, it wants no cut, it does not wait
It will never shake their hands.
They are afraid of Hope, Robeson, afraid of Hope!
They are afraid, songbird with the wings of an eagle
They are afraid of our songs, Robeson. . . .

Progressives of Chicago were shocked at the sudden passing of a good fighter
RENIER WYERS
In his own, quiet way he was a man who never once wavered in his belief in people and their right to the good life. He did his job unstintingly. Members of the 44th Ward Progressive Party extend heartfelt sympathy to his family. We shall miss Ray, a lion-hearted, kindly scrapper.

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